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REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1952

US

participation in the UN

REPORT BY
THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONGRESS
FOR THE YEAR
1952

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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

The President to the Congress

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, the seventh annual report, covering the year 1952, on United States participation in the United Nations. Senators Wiley and Green, as members of the United States delegation to the seventh session of the General Assembly, have already given you their reports on that part of the session that took place in 1952.

On my inauguration I stated that we would strive to make the United Nations "not merely an eloquent symbol but an effective force," and in my message to the seventh session of the General Assembly when it reconvened in February of this year I said:

"The United Nations has already accomplished much. I hope it will grow in strength and become an increasingly effective instrument of peace."

Therefore, though the report for 1952 describes developments in a period before this administration took office, I commend it to your careful attention for such guidance on our future course of action toward this goal as may be drawn from past experience.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

THE WHITE HOUSE,
July 31, 1953.

The Secretary of State to the President

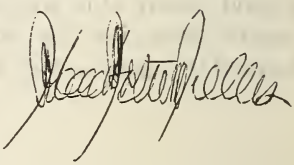
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, July 29, 1953

THE PRESIDENT:

As you know, section 4 of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress) stipulates that the President shall report annually to the Congress on the activities of the United Nations and on United States participation in these activities. I therefore submit for your consideration the attached report for the calendar year 1952, which was prepared in the Department of State.

The report describes, for the last year of the previous administration, the many aspects of the effort being made through the United Nations system to bring about those conditions of security and stability throughout the world that are essential to peace. In view of the very basic interest of the United States in this effort and the importance of United States leadership to its success, I recommend that you approve this report for transmission to the Congress.

Respectfully submitted,



THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

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The UNITED STATES in the UNITED NATIONS

The
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REVIEW OF THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations made progress in 1952 throughout the wide range of its activities despite the continuation of the "cold war." While the organization was no more successful than in previous years in resolving problems where a solution depended upon Soviet cooperation, there was no weakening in the determination of the free world to find cooperative solutions for problems of common concern. From its inception the United Nations has had to carry forward its work under the handicap of a persistent Communist threat to peace and security. This situation remained unchanged during 1952. Soviet policy, as manifest in Korea and through resort to obstructionist and divisive tactics on virtually all possible occasions, was again the principal obstacle to the realization of United Nations objectives. It could not, however, prevent accomplishment.

The United Nations stand against Communist aggression in Korea was firmly maintained in 1952. Through observation and mediation the United Nations continued to guard against any renewal of hostilities in Kashmir and Palestine. United Nations military observation along Greece's northern frontiers contributed to increasing stability in that area, and the United Nations in 1952 successfully completed the discharge of its responsibilities with respect to the disposition of the former Italian colonies in Africa. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency were active on behalf of the millions of people whose lives have been disrupted by the Palestine dispute and the fighting in Korea. Through various programs, worldwide in scope, the United Nations and its specialized agencies assisted governments to further economic development, to increase productivity, to improve health, and to raise educational levels in order to meet the widespread demand for higher living standards. Steady progress continued to be made under United Nations auspices in the advancement of non-self-governing peoples.

The salient characteristic of the United Nations seventh year was the prominence of the issues of self-determination, racial discrimination, and economic development in the deliberations of United Nations

organs and agencies during the year. This prominence underscored the fact that, in large parts of the world and for millions of its people, these are currently matters of primary concern, and many of the member states for whom economic underdevelopment is a major problem and who have experienced at some time in their history a dependent status found a common ground in these issues. They are also, however, issues that give rise to marked divergencies of view within the free world—between the industrialized nations and the underdeveloped countries on the one hand and between the colonial powers and the nonadministering states on the other.

The United Nations was therefore presented with the problem of assisting peoples, in the long-term interest of peace, to fulfill their urgent desires for more rapid political and economic development and, at the same time, of reconciling divergent views on these matters so as to prevent their becoming a fertile field for exploitation in the Soviet effort to divide the free world. In 1952 the United Nations pressed forward with measures, for the most part initiated earlier, to further the economic development of underdeveloped countries and took specific steps designed to encourage the advancement of nonself-governing peoples. At the same time it was generally successful in resisting pressures for such extreme action on these matters as might exacerbate free-world differences.

Political and Security Problems

For the third consecutive year the Communist aggression in Korea remained the most critical single problem before the United Nations. Having repelled the original aggression, United Nations forces were still fighting in Korea to hold the Communists in check, and the armistice negotiations begun in 1951 were deadlocked over the Communist refusal to accept the principle of nonforcible repatriation of prisoners of war. That the Communists had no genuine desire for peace was further emphasized by the propaganda campaign of lies directed primarily against the United States by the U.S.S.R. and its satellites in an attempt to discredit the United Nations effort in Korea and United States leadership of that effort. In addition to the old charges of aggression and imperialism, the Communists in 1952 revived and emphasized alleged United States use of bacteriological weapons in North Korea and Communist China and alleged United States brutalities against North Korean and Chinese Communist prisoners of war. This "big lie" technique, however, failed to achieve its purpose of splitting the free world. The General Assembly at its seventh session overwhelmingly endorsed, through its adoption of the Indian

resolution, the United Nations stand at Panmunjom against forcible repatriation of prisoners of war. The free world's support of the Indian resolution was also an impressive reaffirmation of determination, however great the desire to bring the fighting in Korea to an end, not to abandon United Nations objectives there.

In addition to its continuing effort in Korea, the United Nations in 1952 pressed forward with its work on two aspects of the general security problem. Some further progress was made in advance preparations for meeting possible future aggressions. This work, designed to reduce to a minimum the extensive improvisation required in the case of Korea, was carried forward through the Collective Measures Committee, of which the U.S.S.R. is not a member. On the other aspect of this broad problem, the effort to minimize or obviate possible aggression through agreed and comprehensive disarmament, Soviet intransigence prevented any progress toward agreement in the Disarmament Commission. Nevertheless the United States, alone or acting in conjunction with the United Kingdom and France, submitted a series of constructive proposals during 1952 which, taken together, provide a realistic basis on which a comprehensive and safeguarded disarmament program could be built should Soviet policy ever offer any hope of agreement on such a program.

Only two new items came before the Security Council during 1952—a Soviet-proposed appeal for adherence to the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of bacteriological weapons, for which only the U.S.S.R. voted, and a United States request for an impartial investigation of the bacteriological warfare charges, which was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. and subsequently placed on the General Assembly's agenda at the request of the United States. An Arab-Asian effort to have the situation in Tunisia incribed on the Council's agenda was unsuccessful. The Council devoted a number of meetings early in the year and again in the autumn to consideration of the reports of the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan on his efforts to assist the parties in arriving at a solution of the Kashmir dispute, which has been before the Council since 1948 and which still remains unsettled. The Council also resumed in September, preparatory to the seventh session of the General Assembly, its consideration of the membership question but was again unable to make any recommendations, the U.S.S.R. vetoing favorable action on five new applications. In an effort to break the stalemate on this matter, the General Assembly established a special committee to give detailed consideration to the membership question before its eighth session.

At its seventh session, which convened on October 14, 1952, the General Assembly had four new political items on its agenda. One, the Austrian treaty question, arose out of the deadlock between the

Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States, the United Kingdom, and France on the other over the negotiation of an Austrian state treaty that would permit the withdrawal of occupation forces. Two of the other new items concerned the relations between France and its North African protectorates, Morocco and Tunisia. The fourth stemmed from the Union of South Africa's *apartheid* policies involving racial segregation and discrimination. The North African and *apartheid* items were particularly delicate as the first *two* involved colonial relationships and the *third*, domestic policy. They were also unusually complex, since they raised not only the question of what type of action the General Assembly might usefully and properly take with respect to these situations but also the question of its competence under the Charter to consider them at all. While a majority of United Nations members, including the United States, thought the Assembly competent to consider these matters, France and the Union of South Africa, supported by certain other members, took the opposite position.

Among the recurring questions on the Assembly's agenda was that of Palestine, which has been considered by every Assembly session since 1947. However, for the first time the Assembly did not adopt a resolution on the political aspects of this question. There existed a widespread belief among United Nations members, including the United States, that real progress toward a peace settlement could be made only through direct negotiations between the parties. The Palestine Conciliation Commission, however, remains available to assist the parties if they desire its services.

The final aspect of one problem, which the Assembly has had before it since 1948 as a result of the terms of the Italian peace treaty, was resolved during 1952 with the coming into effect in September of the federation between Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Assembly has now fulfilled its responsibilities with respect to the disposition of the former Italian colonies in Africa, Libya having achieved independence in 1951 pursuant to a General Assembly resolution and Italian Somaliland having become a trust territory under Italian administration, with the definite date of 1960 set for its emergence as an independent state.

Economic and Social Cooperation

United Nations activities in the economic and social field encompass the world. They are cooperative efforts, in which the U.S.S.R. and its satellites are for the most part nonparticipants, undertaken by states through the United Nations and the specialized agencies and

carried out in cooperation with individual countries. They are also complementary in that they are all, in the final analysis, designed to raise standards of living and thus, by creating conditions of economic and social stability, to remove sources of unrest inimical to peace.

While no new undertakings of major significance were inaugurated in this field during 1952, the United Nations and the specialized agencies proceeded under a wide variety of programs with their effort to raise economic and social standards and to safeguard freedom. The principal emphasis in the economic field was on the economic development of underdeveloped countries. At the same time, however, continuing concern was manifest for the maintenance generally of high levels of production and employment, for the expansion and liberalization of world trade, and for the improvement of transport and communications facilities and procedures. In the social field programs to eradicate disease, to improve diet and housing, and to combat social evils were paralleled by programs to raise educational levels, to promote scientific and cultural development, and to encourage respect for basic human rights.

The United Nations principal instrument for assisting the economic development of underdeveloped countries is its expanded program of technical assistance, which it has undertaken in cooperation with the specialized agencies. From the initiation of the program in 1950 until the end of 1952, almost 3,000 governmental requests for assistance had been received, and governments had voluntarily contributed or pledged some $39 million to finance the program, about 60 percent of this amount having come from the United States.

A major problem of economic development is its financing. One of the specialized agencies, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, made new loans for economic development amounting to almost $300 million during 1952, and both the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly at their 1952 sessions gave serious consideration to ways of attracting private capital to underdeveloped areas. This is the approach most favored by the United States. In addition the Council asked the United Nations Secretary-General to appoint a group of experts to draft a blueprint for the establishment, "as soon as circumstances permit," of a special fund for grants and long-term, low-interest loans to underdeveloped countries. While voting for this resolution, the United States fully reserved its position on the establishment of such a fund.

Economic development also necessitates raising the general level of productivity, which, in turn, depends on more efficient use of all resources, both natural and human. In the field of natural resources

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the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization concentrated primarily on increasing the productivity of the land so as to raise the level of agricultural production. The activities of the International Labor Organization during 1952 were focused principally on encouraging proper utilization of manpower, increasing labor productivity, and improving labor standards, which have an important bearing on labor's productivity. The Economic and Social Council made various recommendations to member states directed toward more efficient use of resources at its 1952 session and maintained its continuing interest in the problem of full employment. In this same connection the General Assembly at its seventh session passed a resolution designed to encourage migration from overpopulated countries to those in need of additional population.

The United States did not support or vote for two resolutions adopted by the General Assembly as a result of its 1952 discussion of economic development. One concerned the comparative price relationship between primary commodities and manufactured goods moving in international trade, and the other dealt with the right of governments to exploit freely the natural wealth and resources of their countries but, in the United States view, failed to cover adequately the corresponding obligation of governments to compensate the former owners of expropriated property. The United States strenuously opposed this latter resolution at all stages.

An expanding world economy depends on the removal of trade barriers as well as on economic development. Therefore, the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which was negotiated under United Nations auspices, and the members of the International Monetary Fund, a specialized agency, continued their efforts during 1952 to move toward a multilateral trade and payments system. Since these efforts toward removal of trade barriers have been handicapped by fluctuations in primary commodity prices, the Economic and Social Council at its 14th session discussed the possible use of international commodity agreements to induce greater price stability. In addition an *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Council, which will report in 1953, held three meetings during 1952 to consider restrictive business practices that have a harmful effect on international trade.

Both the United Nations and the specialized agencies during 1952 also carried forward their continuing programs directed toward facilitating the transportation of goods and persons across national boundaries, improving transportation facilities and operations, and promoting communications. The specialized agencies primarily concerned were the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Meteorological Or-

ganization, and the Universal Postal Union. Moreover, as a result of the efforts of the World Health Organization, new international sanitary regulations were promulgated designed to facilitate international travel and trade.

The magnitude of the task in the social field, if peoples are to achieve their goal of higher living standards, was underscored with the release in April 1952 of the United Nations *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation.* The United Nations and the specialized agencies are already attempting to meet the needs in this field through activities directed toward helping governments to help themselves, at the same time that they are being assisted in meeting particular social and educational problems.

The World Health Organization, for example, not only cooperated with governments in carrying out specific disease control programs during 1952 but also assisted them in developing effective health services of their own by providing expert advisers, training personnel, and operating demonstration projects. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), whose programs benefited over 17 million children in 72 countries and territories in the course of the year, has consistently required that the country being assisted match in goods and services UNICEF's contribution. The social welfare program of the United Nations Secretariat in 1952 included the provision of expert advisers in the fields of child and family welfare, housing, the prevention and treatment of crime, rehabilitation of the handicapped, and the development and administration of social welfare programs. Similarly the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in assisting governments to raise educational levels, in 1952 operated an education center in Mexico for training teachers of fundamental education in Latin America, arranged a regional conference in the Far East to promote compulsory education, and cooperated with India in developing a library pilot project.

Continuing activities designed to encourage respect for basic human rights were carried forward through the Economic and Social Council's Commissions on Human Rights and on the Status of Women and its Subcommissions on Freedom of Information and on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners of War, established by the General Assembly in 1950, held two meetings in 1952 in an unsuccessful endeavor to bring about the return of World War II prisoners still detained by the Soviet Union.

In addition the General Assembly at its seventh session adopted three resolutions concerning international respect for the right of self-determination of peoples. Two of these resolutions were not supported by the United States. While the United States made

manifest its support of the principle of self-determination, it considered that one of the resolutions did not apply this principle clearly enough to all peoples or provide for sufficient flexibility in its application. The second resolution recommended the voluntary transmission to the United Nations of political information on non-self-governing territories outside the trusteeship system. The older colonial powers contended that this recommendation would extend the obligation they undertook in the Charter to transmit information on economic, social, and educational conditions in such territories. While the United States itself voluntarily transmits political information on all territories under its administration, it maintained its policy of opposing recommendations that such information, which is not asked for in the Charter, be transmitted.

As in the preceding year, the United Nations in 1952 also operated two emergency relief and rehabilitation programs—one on behalf of Arab refugees from Palestine and the other in Korea. The dislocation and distress resulting, respectively, from the Palestine dispute and the aggression in Korea are of such magnitude as to exceed the capabilities of the countries involved and of the specialized agencies. The two special programs were therefore financed by voluntary contributions, both governmental and private, and were carried on, in cooperation with the specialized agencies, through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, the United Nations Civil Assistance Command in Korea, and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. The United States Government had contributed $93,450,000 for relief of Palestine refugees through June 30, 1952 (approximately 60 percent of the total resources made available by governments), $321,688,005 to the United Nations Civil Assistance Command by the end of 1952, and $35 million to the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency by January 3, 1953.

Dependent Territories

The United Nations is concerned with two categories of dependent territories: the 11 trust territories with a population of over 18 million, administered under United Nations supervision, and about 60 other non-self-governing territories, with respect to whose 200 million inhabitants the administering states undertook certain obligations under the Charter. The reports on conditions in both categories of territories received by the United Nations in 1952 indicated that continuing progress was being made in furthering the advancement of non-self-governing peoples. Nevertheless pressure for granting these peoples a greater voice in their own affairs has continued to

grow, and problems reflecting this pressure have continued to receive increasing attention in the United Nations.

These problems took their most controversial form during 1952 in the recommendations noted above concerning international respect for the right of self-determination of peoples, in proposals regarding participation of indigenous inhabitants in the work of United Nations organs and agencies, in the question of factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory has ceased to be non-self-governing, and in the question of the continuation of the General Assembly's *Ad Hoc* Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

While the United States recognizes the desirability of maintaining close association between dependent peoples and the work of the United Nations, it was unable to support proposals looking toward the direct participation of such peoples in the work of the Trusteeship Council and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, since such proposals involved a form of dual representation in these bodies. Instead the United States advocated a recommendation that the administering powers associate indigenous peoples in the work of the Council and the Committee by including representatives of such peoples on their delegations, or through some similar device. In the case of the Trusteeship Council the Assembly endorsed the United States position, but this position received only partial recognition in the Assembly's action with respect to participation of non-self-governing territories in the work of the Committee on Information, and the United States was therefore unable to support this action.

Again, while the United States believes that the General Assembly has the right to seek to define the language of the Charter referring to non-self-governing territories, it was unable to accept the implication of the Assembly's resolution on the "factors" question that the Assembly shares with the administering power the competence to decide whether a territory is or is not non-self-governing.

Since the Charter makes no provision for examining the information transmitted annually by the administering authorities for non-self-governing territories outside the trusteeship system, the General Assembly in 1946 established an *Ad Hoc* Committee to undertake this function. Subsequent decisions continuing this Committee have proved increasingly controversial, and at the 1952 session of the Assembly, several administering powers opposed renewal, while a majority of the nonadministering states favored establishment of the Committee on a permanent basis. The Assembly, in continuing the Committee on Information for another 3 years, followed the compromise course advocated by the United States.

Two controversies affecting particular dependent territories, that have been of United Nations concern for a number of years, remained unsettled at the end of 1952: the question of Ewe and Togoland unification and the question of the international status of South-West Africa.

The problem created by the desire for unification of the Ewe people in the two trust territories of British and French Togoland and the British colony of the Gold Coast has been before the United Nations since 1947, and the advocates of Ewe unification have now merged their efforts with those of an indigenous movement for unification of all the peoples of the two trust territories. The most recent United Nations visiting mission to West Africa reported in the fall of 1952 that, while unification is "a live political issue" in both territories, there is not at present sufficient support for any particular form of unification to justify changing existing arrangements. The Assembly, therefore, at its seventh session made a number of recommendations designed to encourage Anglo-French efforts to meet this problem within the present framework and to further the economic development of the two territories.

South-West Africa is the only League of Nations mandate that has not either attained independence or been placed under United Nations trusteeship, and the question of the Union of South Africa's international responsibilities for this territory has been before the United Nations since 1946. The International Court of Justice has held that the Union, as the mandatory power, is not obligated to place South-West Africa under trusteeship but that it is accountable to the United Nations for its administration of the territory to the same extent that it was accountable to the League. During 1952 the *Ad Hoc* Committee established by the Assembly in 1951 to negotiate with the Union of South Africa on this matter continued its efforts, but no agreement was reached. However, the Union has indicated its willingness to continue the effort to reach agreement, and the General Assembly at its seventh session postponed consideration of this question, requesting the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its negotiations and to report to the eighth session of the Assembly.

The United States is also an active participant in the work of two regional Commissions that, while not integral parts of the United Nations system, are similarly concerned with the economic and social advancement of the dependent territories in their respective areas: the Caribbean Commission, composed of France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States; and the South Pacific Commission, made up of these four plus Australia and New Zealand. Both organizations perform consultative and advisory functions, and

both maintain a cooperative relationship with the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

The Caribbean Commission during 1952 was particularly concerned with development of the region's agricultural, forestry, and fishery potentialities, with industrial development, and with housing and basic education in the region. The West Indian Conference, an auxiliary body of the Commission on which the 14 Caribbean territories are represented, held its fifth session late in the year. It unanimously endorsed a proposal put forward by the Netherlands Antilles delegation that member governments consider revising the basic agreement establishing the Commission to take into account the new constitutional relationships of the territories within the area and the demonstrated desire and ability of their peoples to accept increased responsibility in solving the region's problems.

The work of the South Pacific Commission during 1952 was somewhat more diversified, in response to the needs of the area. Public health and disease control were of major concern, as were diversification and improvement of agriculture, development of fisheries, social welfare, and education. This Commission, which is younger than its Caribbean counterpart, has now earned for itself an established place in the region, and arrangements were completed in 1952 for the Second South Pacific Conference, which will be held in the spring of 1953 and at which 18 territories and the Kingdom of Tonga will be represented.

International Law

United Nations activities in the field of international law during 1952 followed the customary pattern. The International Court of Justice handed down two important judgments during the year—in the United States-French case concerning the treaty rights of United States nationals in Morocco and in the Anglo-Iranian oil case—and ended the year with three cases pending. The General Assembly at its seventh session took action on four questions in the international law field, two of which were also of political significance. It requested the International Law Commission to undertake as soon as possible on a priority basis the codification of the topic "Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities." This request stemmed from a Yugoslav initiative, arising out of the treatment accorded Yugoslav missions in Cominform capitals, and drew wide support in view of the increasing seriousness and frequency of Communist violations of international law pertaining to diplomatic intercourse. The Assembly also established a Special Committee to continue study of the complex and controversial problem of defining aggression and to report to the Assembly's 1954 session. The United States would have

preferred to see further discussion of this problem, which had been raised at the Assembly's sixth session, postponed indefinitely, on the grounds that the time is not propitious for attempting to define aggression and that under these circumstances nothing productive can come from further study of the question at this time.

Administrative and Budgetary Problems

In its fourth consecutive step since 1949 toward implementing the principle that in normal times no country should contribute more than one-third of the total assessments for the ordinary budget, the General Assembly at its seventh session reduced by 1.78 points to 35.12 percent the United States contribution to the United Nations ordinary budget for 1953. Moreover the Assembly stipulated that from January 1, 1954, no country's assessment should exceed one-third of the total, thus establishing a policy that the United States has been urging since 1948. Among the specialized agencies the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization have already put into effect the one-third ceiling principle.

Total assessment budgets for the United Nations and the specialized agencies amounting to $78,200,000 for 1953 were authorized in 1952. The assessment budget of the United Nations taken alone increased some $1,260,000 over 1951, owing mainly to costs other than program costs. The World Health Organization shows an increase of approximately $380,000. However, the budgets of the other specialized agencies continue at approximately their previous levels.

Further progress was made during 1952 in strengthening the administrative organization of the United Nations and the specialized agencies through the adoption of common staff regulations, the promotion of greater uniformity in salaries and allowances, and the review of personnel performance. The major problem arising concerned charges of subversive activities on the part of certain United States citizens employed by the United Nations. Consequently the Secretary-General appointed an international Commission of Jurists to advise him on the steps he should take in this situation. The Jurists' report stressed the fact that the Secretary-General had authority and responsibility to prevent the employment of individuals who were engaged, or were likely to be engaged, in subversive activities. On the basis of the report the Secretary-General submitted proposals for new personnel policies to the General Assembly for consideration at the second half of its seventh session. For its part the United States has undertaken to provide the Secretary-General with information on subversive or potentially subversive citizens so that their employment may be terminated or avoided.

PART I

Maintenance of Peace and Security

THROUGHOUT 1952 the United Nations continued its action in Korea, the first collective action to repel aggression by force ever undertaken by a world organization. At the same time the United Nations sought to enlarge its general capacity for effective collective action, both in order to deter and to be able to meet any future aggression. It also sought, with the primary objective of preventing war, to develop the basis for a comprehensive disarmament program with adequate safeguards. These efforts, directed toward furthering the security of nations, were paralleled by efforts to remove the sources of international friction through the peaceful settlement of disputes and the amelioration of situations presenting a potential threat to the peace.

Some progress was made in 1952 both toward greater security and in peaceful settlement, although spectacular accomplishments were lacking. The frustrations created by Soviet intransigence continued, and no easy, rapid road to peaceful settlement was found. The Kashmir and Palestine disputes remained unresolved. Nevertheless there were no new breaches of the peace. One political problem originating in World War II, the disposition of Eritrea, was resolved. Another potentially dangerous situation resulting from the threats to Greece from bordering states, which has been of concern to the United Nations since 1946, continued to show improvement. Western proposals before the Disarmament Commission provided a realistic basis for the development of a comprehensive disarmament program should a change in Soviet policy ever make progress toward disarmament possible, and the blueprint developed during 1951 under the uniting-for-peace program to facilitate the application of collective measures against any future aggression was further elaborated. The United Nations was also strengthened by the fact of the continued cooperation of the great majority of its members in support of Charter purposes and principles, in the face of inevitable conflicts between national interests and divisive Communist tactics.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

A primary responsibility of the United Nations, as stated in the Charter, is to take "effective collective measures" to meet threats to the peace, aggression, or other breaches of the peace. The first use of collective measures under the United Nations is the action to repel the aggression in Korea, which was begun in 1950. Before that time the Soviet Union's recalcitrant attitude in the United Nations had cast doubt on the organization's ability to act. The United Nations stand in Korea, besides serving to remove this doubt, also provided the principal impetus for efforts to strengthen the United Nations as a vehicle for collective action.

Korea

During 1952, as in 1950 and 1951, the situation in Korea continued to be the most urgent problem before the United Nations. Attention centered on the armistice negotiations carried on at Panmunjom during most of the year. While considerable progress was made, full agreement was not reached; in particular, many months were spent in a fruitless effort by the United Nations negotiators to resolve the question of exchange of prisoners of war on a basis consistent with humanitarian principles.

At the same time that the United Nations Command delegation at Panmunjom pursued its patient efforts to negotiate an honorable armistice, the forces of the United Nations maintained their strong positions, continuing to repel the aggression.

Late in the year a full debate on Korea took place in the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution sponsored by India, in effect approving the United States position on the basic issue on which the negotiations had been deadlocked, namely, the question of nonforcible repatriation of prisoners of war. The resolution called upon the Communists to conclude an armistice based on a solution of this question that would take into account the attitudes of the prisoners.

THE MILITARY SITUATION

Neither the United Nations nor the Communist forces undertook any major or sustained offensive action during 1952. There was, however, constant military contact, and United Nations forces kept pressure on the enemy in order to limit the enemy's ability to build up his forces and in order to maintain the security of United Nations

forces. Successful air attacks were directed at military targets in North Korea, including airfields, roads and railways, railway marshaling yards, supply points, and power plants south of the Yalu supplying North Korean industry. A complete naval blockade of all North Korean ports was maintained. These operations were conducted by the United Nations Command with minimum loss to its own forces and with maximum possible respect for humanitarian considerations. The United Nations Command did not use any bacteriological or poison gas warfare weapons, as the Communists charge; and, continuing its policy of making every effort to limit the area of hostilities, it did not attack territory outside of Korea.

The United Nations forces continued to hold strong defensive positions generally north of the 38th parallel, and in some areas United Nations outpost positions penetrated even deeper into enemy territory than was the case at the end of 1951.

THE ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS

Until October 8, 1952, the United Nations Command delegation met regularly with the Communists at Panmunjom and, with great patience in the face of trying Communist tactics, sought to bring about an armistice in Korea. Of the four substantive items on the agenda, which had been agreed to on July 26, 1951, only one—relating to the demarcation line and the demilitarized zone—was disposed of during 1951. The beginning of 1952 found the negotiators discussing simultaneously two other items on the agenda: arrangements for implementing the armistice and the disposition of prisoners of war.

In February, at a time when little progress was being made on these two items, the Communists agreed to discuss concurrently the last agenda item "Recommendations to the Governments Concerned on Both Sides." Agreement was soon reached on this latter item, although in July the Communists appeared to be trying to reopen the question. However, they subsequently dropped these efforts, and the language originally approved on February 17, 1952, was incorporated into the draft armistice agreement. This provision reads:

> 60. In order to insure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides, that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korea question, etc.

In agreeing to this recommendation, Admiral Joy made the following statement for the record concerning the United Nations Command's understanding of this proposal:

First, we desire to point out that this recommendation will be made by the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, to the United Nations as well as to the Republic of Korea. Second, in accepting the term "foreign forces" we are doing so on the basis of your statement that this term means "non-Korean Forces", and third, we wish it clearly understood that we do not construe the word "et cetera" to relate to matters outside of Korea.

Arrangements for Implementing the Armistice

By April 1952 considerable progress had been made in negotiating an agreement for an armistice in Korea. The purpose of the United Nations Command was to obtain maximum possible assurance against a renewal of hostilities and to safeguard the security of its own forces against the possibility of such a renewal. For these reasons the United Nations Command insisted that there should be no increase in military strength, whether of troops or equipment. At the same time it also insisted that the welfare and needs of United Nations troops demanded that rotation of personnel and replacement of any equipment expended should be permitted. The United Nations negotiators urged agreement on arrangements for the broadest possible access to all parts of Korea during the armistice in order to assure against the possibility of any increase in military strength. They proposed the establishment of joint inspection teams for this purpose but later acceded to a Communist proposal for inspection by countries not participating in the hostilities and acceptable to both sides. The United Nations Command also insisted on a ban on the construction of new military airfields and a limitation on the rehabilitation of existing airfields.

Except for the airfields proposal, the Communists eventually agreed in principle to these points relating to implementation of the armistice, which the United Nations Command considered essential. They rejected the airfields proposal, despite the fact that the United Nations Command was willing to have the same limitations apply to South Korea, on the ground that it constituted interference in their internal affairs.

It was some time, however, before agreement was reached with the Communists on such details for implementation of the armistice as the number of troops that might be rotated monthly and the number of ports of entry to be observed by the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, and the question of the nations that should make up the Commission remained unsettled. It was finally agreed that rotation of persons should be limited to 35,000 per month and that replacement of destroyed, damaged, worn out, or used up equipment would be permitted on the basis of piece-for-piece of the same type and effectiveness. Although the United Nations Command originally proposed that the neutral inspection teams should function

at 12 ports of entry, it was in the end agreed to have neutral inspection teams stationed at 5 ports of entry on each side, plus 10 mobile teams to investigate reported violations.

No final agreement was reached on the composition of the supervisory body. The United Nations Command proposed Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland as countries acceptable to it. The Communists named Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the U. S. S. R. The United Nations Command naturally refused to accept the U. S. S. R. It insisted that the Communists either name an alternative state or, if they preferred, simply drop the U. S. S. R., in which case the United Nations Command would drop Norway, leaving the Commission with only four members. The Communists, however, maintained that the Soviet Union must be included on the Commission.

Prisoners of War

The question of prisoners of war, which the negotiators began to consider in December 1951, proved to be their principal concern during 1952.

The United States has from the beginning tried to achieve an armistice that would be consistent with United Nations objectives in Korea. It was eager to make progress toward an armistice and was willing, therefore, to make concessions in the negotiations so long as these concessions were consistent with the principles for which United States and other United Nations forces were fighting. It was anxious to end the fighting in Korea, the loss of life, the continued suffering of the Korean people, and the destruction of their country. It was also anxious to achieve the earliest possible return of United States and other United Nations prisoners of war in the hands of the Communists. It could not, however, agree to an armistice that would defeat the very purposes and principles for which so many sacrifices had been made. To use the bayonets of United Nations forces to compel thousands of prisoners of war against their will to return to an uncertain and ominous fate would violate the humanitarian principles in which the people of the United States believe and on which the United Nations itself is based. It would also deal a serious blow to the struggle of the free world against Communist tyranny everywhere and, by undermining their belief in the United States traditional respect for the individual dignity of man, would dash the hopes of millions behind the Iron Curtain who look upon the United States as a hope for ultimate freedom.

The position of the United Nations Command on this question was not merely humane and moral; it also accorded fully with international law and practice. The Communists, who themselves have violated the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners

of war in almost every important respect, insisted that the position of the United Nations Command was contrary to that convention. In fact, however, the United Nations Command position was not inconsistent with the convention, and it is accepted international law and practice that the traditional privilege of asylum recognized for centuries applies in the case of prisoners of war. There have been numerous instances in which the state detaining prisoners of war exercised its option to grant asylum to them. Furthermore the principle of voluntary or of nonforcible repatriation has been written into numerous agreements, including at least 15 to which the Soviet Union itself has been a party. As the United Nations Command negotiators pointed out to the Communists, even as recently as World War II the Soviet Union promised surrendering German soldiers that they could either be repatriated or sent to any country to which they desired to go, and official Soviet organs have referred to this policy as an act of the highest humanitarianism.

The United Nations Command made clear its position that all prisoners of war must be given an unrestricted opportunity to be repatriated but that it would not agree to use force to compel prisoners to return to the Communist side against their will. The Communists, however, insisted that all prisoners of war must be repatriated, by force if necessary. They denied that there were in fact any prisoners who did not wish to return, accusing the United Nations Command of "forcible retention" of prisoners and of using violence to compel prisoners to claim that they did not wish to go home.

During the many months before negotiations recessed in October 1952, the United Nations delegation tried by every means to resolve this question and offered the Communists every opportunity to reach an honorable agreement. It proposed procedures for impartially determining the true attitudes of the prisoners and allowing them the exercise of complete freedom of choice. It invited the Communists to make any proposal for settling the prisoner-of-war question consistent with the basic humanitarian condition that force should not be used in their repatriation. The United States, as the Unified Command, obtained valuable assistance and suggestions from various governments, groups, and individuals and welcomed diplomatic efforts of other United Nations members to persuade the Communists to agree to a humanitarian solution of the prisoner-of-war question.

In early April, when it appeared that it might be easier for the Communists to agree to such a solution if the glare of publicity were removed from the deliberations, the United Nations Command suggested that the negotiations temporarily go into secret session. During these executive sessions the Communists requested an estimate in round numbers of the prisoners of war who would be available for repatriation. The United Nations negotiators made it clear that such

an estimate depended entirely on the prisoners themselves and could be determined only by interrogating them. The Communists thus fully understood that the United Nations Command would have to screen the prisoners in order to provide the requested estimate and tacitly acquiesced in this procedure which was initiated immediately, actual negotiations being recessed for this purpose.

In screening the prisoners of war, the United Nations Command did not seek to persuade them not to return to the Communists. On the contrary, in order to make Communist agreement to an armistice more likely, prisoners were encouraged to go home and were warned of the possible effects on their families if they refused. They were told that no promises could be made regarding their disposition if they refused to return and that they might remain in compounds many months after the other prisoners returned home. At the suggestion of the United Nations Command, the Communists issued a statement promising amnesty to all returning prisoners, which was given wide publicity in the camps. Only those prisoners who the interrogators were convinced would violently resist being returned were excluded from the number available for repatriation.

Initially only those prisoners of war consenting to be interviewed were screened. No attempt was made to screen those in Communist-dominated camps which refused to cooperate. Since it was necessary, however, to give the Communists a round figure, the United Nations Command estimated the number of persons in these camps who would be available for repatriation, assuming that in these camps most prisoners would desire to return home.

To the surprise of the United Nations Command itself, it was estimated that only about 70,000 prisoners would be available for repatriation to the Communists without the use of force. (Subsequently it became possible to complete the interviewing of those not previously screened. The final results indicated that as of July 13, 1952, a total of approximately 83,000—76,600 Koreans and 6,400 Chinese—could be repatriated without the use of force.)

When the United Nations negotiators informed the Communists that only approximately 70,000 prisoners of war would be available for repatriation, the Communists resumed their insistence on the repatriation of all prisoners and sought to discredit the screening, charging that it was illegal and had been carried out with force and violence. There is evidence that they also sent instructions to Communist leaders in the United Nations Command prisoner-of-war camps, as a result of which fanatics among the prisoners provoked incidents and riots. With complete disregard for their own lives and for the lives of others, they intimidated prisoners who did not desire

repatriation, murdering many of them, and sought in every way to obscure and discredit the results of the screening. Because of these incidents the United Nations Command reorganized the extremely large prison camps into smaller compounds in order to facilitate control of the prisoners.

Following the Communist refusal to agree to an exchange of prisoners on the basis of the 70,000 estimate, the United Nations Command, in a determined effort to obtain agreement on an acceptable armistice, offered a "package proposal" settling all three outstanding questions. It offered to drop its insistence on prohibiting the reconstruction and rehabilitation of airfields on condition that the Communists agreed that there should not be forced repatriation of prisoners of war and that they would give up their unwarranted insistence on the Soviet Union as a member of the Supervisory Commission (the United Nations Command proposed that the Commission consist of four countries only—Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, and Czechoslovakia). The United Nations Command emphasized clearly that this proposal must be accepted as a whole. However, while of course accepting the United Nations Command concession and agreeing to give up their insistence on Soviet membership in the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, an issue which they had apparently fabricated merely to give them an additional bargaining counter, the Communists refused to agree to the principle of nonforcible repatriation of prisoners of war. Since the package proposal was not accepted as a whole, all three issues, therefore, remained unsettled, although the proposal was still open.

It was recognized that the prisoner-of-war question was the crux of the difficulty and that, if the Communists really wanted an armistice, the solution of this problem would pave the way for peace. For the remainder of the year, therefore, the United Nations negotiators continued to try to reach an acceptable solution of this problem. It was made clear to the Communists that, while the United Nations Command could not compromise the fundamental principle, it was prepared to consider any reasonable suggestion for resolving the deadlock. The United Nations negotiators assured the Communists of their willingness to consider any reasonable means of verifying impartially the attitudes of the prisoners or of implementing the exchange of prisoners in such a manner as to avoid embarrassment to the Communists. Thus, for example, the United Nations Command indicated its willingness to accept the provision that "all prisoners of war held in the custody of each side at the time this armistice agreement becomes effective shall be released and repatriated as soon as possible. The release and repatriation of such prisoners of war shall be effected in conformity with lists which have been exchanged and

have been checked by the respective sides prior to the signing of this armistice agreement." The United Nations negotiators stated that they would accept such language on condition that the Communists agreed that those prisoners who would forcibly resist repatriation should not be considered as "held in the custody of each side at the time that this armistice agreement becomes effective" and that their names should not be included on the "lists which have been exchanged."

Again the United Nations negotiators proposed that joint Red Cross teams, with or without military observers of both sides, should be admitted to the prisoner camps of both sides to verify the attitudes of those who it was claimed would resist repatriation. It was also proposed that all prisoners should be delivered in groups to the demilitarized zone and there be given an opportunity to express their preference on repatriation. This verification would be carried out by one or a combination of the following: (1) International Committee of the Red Cross, (2) teams from impartial nations, (3) joint teams of military observers, or (4) Red Cross representatives from each side.

The Communists refused all these proposals. Nor would they come forward with any useful proposals of their own. At one time it appeared that they might not insist on the repatriation of all Korean prisoners if it was agreed to return all the Chinese Communists. The United Nations Command, of course, could not agree to use force to repatriate any prisoners, no matter what their nationality. After many additional months of patient effort, the United Nations negotiators on September 28 made a further attempt to meet Communist objections to the principle of nonforcible repatriation and Communist allegations that the previous screening was unfair. The United Nations negotiators put forward three alternative proposals:

1. Both sides would agree that as soon as the armistice agreement goes into effect all prisoners of war of each side shall be entitled to release and repatriation, both sides agreeing that the obligation to exchange and repatriate prisoners of war is fulfilled by having them brought to an agreed exchange point in the demilitarized zone where the prisoner of war would be identified and his name checked against the agreed list of prisoners of war. However, both sides would agree that any prisoner of war who at the time of his identification stated that he wished to return to the side by which he had been detained shall immediately be permitted to do so and that that side would transport him from the demilitarized zone and not detain him as a prisoner of war but permit him to regain civilian status.

2. Prisoners not resisting repatriation would be expeditiously exchanged. All prisoners of war who had indicated to the United Nations Command that they would forcibly resist repatriation would

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be delivered to the demilitarized zone in small groups where they would be entirely freed from the military control of either side, would be interviewed by representatives of mutually agreed country or countries not participating in the Korean hostilities, and would then be free to go to the side of their choice as indicated by those interviews.

3. Prisoners not resisting repatriation would be expeditiously exchanged. Prisoners of war who had indicated to the United Nations Command that they would forcibly resist repatriation would be delivered in groups to the demilitarized zone and there entirely freed from the military control of either side and without questioning, interviewing, or screening of any kind would be released and free to go to the side of their choice.

On October 8 the Communists rejected these proposals, refusing even to enter into discussion of them and returning to their attacks on the motives of the United Nations Command. They offered a so-called new proposal which merely repeated the same adamant position they had been taking for months. It became evident that the Communists were not interested in reaching agreement at this time upon an armistice. They obviously welcomed, however, the opportunity that the negotiations at Panmunjom offered for propaganda, concentrating on vicious attacks upon the United States and the United Nations. In the circumstances it was clear that no useful purpose would be served by continuing regular meetings with the Communists until they were ready to negotiate in good faith and make progress toward peace. On October 8, therefore, the United Nations Command delegates called a recess in the negotiations. They did not break off the negotiations and expressed the desire to resume discussion whenever the Communists were prepared to negotiate in good faith. The United Nations Command emphasized again that its various proposals for solution of the prisoner-of-war question remained open and that when the Communists were ready to accept any one of these proposals, or to make a constructive proposal of their own, the United Nations delegation would be prepared to meet at Panmunjom and make all possible progress toward an armistice. In the meanwhile United Nations Command liaison officers remained available for consultation with the enemy's liaison officers at Panmunjom and for the performance of their customary duties.

By the end of 1952 the Communists had not accepted any of the United Nations Command proposals, nor had they come forward with any constructive suggestions of their own. They had, however, sought to give the impression that the United Nations delegation broke off negotiations and that it was unwilling to consider or discuss their latest "new" proposal of October 8. This so-called new proposal was subsequently repeated in somewhat different form but without any

change in substance in a letter of October 16 to Gen. Mark Clark from the North Korean and Chinese Communist commanders. By borrowing a few phrases from earlier United Nations Command proposals, it sought to confuse public opinion and to disguise the fact that the Communists still insisted upon repatriation of all prisoners of war, by force if necessary. The United Nations Command reply fully exposed the "new" proposal as a fraudulent repetition of the time-worn demand that the United Nations forces drive unwilling prisoners back to Communist custody. Since this was the case, the proposal did not constitute a valid basis for resumption of delegation meetings. Moreover, General Clark's reply to the Communist commanders' letter emphasized that, if the Communists had been willing to accept the humane principle of not forcing prisoners who feared for their lives to be returned against their will, an armistice ending the bloodshed in Korea could have been achieved many months before.

THE KOREAN CASE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The seventh session of the General Assembly faced an entirely different situation in Korea than had the sixth session. During the sixth session the United States had favored postponing consideration of the Korean question. At that time, with armistice negotiations in active progress, it believed that Assembly discussion could not help and might indeed hinder the efforts of the negotiators to reach agreement on an armistice.

When the seventh session convened on October 14, 1952, the United Nations negotiators at Panmunjom had exhausted every effort to reach agreement with the Communists on an acceptable armistice, and negotiations had reached a point where further discussion was futile. In these circumstances the United States believed that discussion of the situation by the Assembly was desirable. It believed that, in its capacity as the Unified Command, it should report to the United Nations on the conduct of the armistice negotiations so that all members would recognize that every effort had been made to obtain Communist agreement.

The United States considered that the Assembly should take such measures as would be helpful in persuading the Communists to accept an honorable peace in Korea. If such efforts were unavailing, it was important that the Assembly satisfy itself whether the Communists wanted an armistice and, if not, to face that fact with courage and determination.

The Korean question was the first item on the Political Committee's agenda. The Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, opened the debate with a historical exposition of the whole Korean problem. He

recalled the hopes at the end of World War II for the establishment of a free, unified, and democratic Korea and the frustration of those hopes by the Soviet Union. He reviewed the efforts of the United Nations to realize these same hopes and pointed to the establishment of the Republic of Korea under United Nations supervision. He spoke of Communist attempts to subvert that Government and reminded the Committee that when these attempts failed, there had been Communist aggression against the Republic of Korea. He emphasized the heroic role of the forces of the United Nations in meeting this aggression and expressed the conviction that an examination of the course of action followed since the aggression began would lead to the conclusion "that the United Nations has done all that is possible to try to bring about peace, and that the aggressor and those who support him have done nothing to bring about peace and everything to impede it." Mr. Acheson then discussed in detail the armistice negotiations, on which the United States as the Unified Command had submitted a special report to the Assembly shortly before the opening of the Committee's discussions.

Twenty-One Power Resolution

At the conclusion of his speech the Secretary of State submitted a resolution on behalf of the United States and of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay. This resolution was simple, unprovocative, and matter-of-fact. It did not denounce the Communists; rather it was designed to persuade the Communists to agree to an honorable armistice. Basically its purpose was to obtain General Assembly approval of the principle that force shall not be used to repatriate prisoners of war, and it called upon the Communists to agree to an armistice consistent with this principle. It did not spell out any details because it was thought that the forum at Panmunjom was the most effective medium for actual negotiations.

Soviet Counter Proposal

For several days the Political Committee was in recess, at Soviet request, while the Soviet delegation prepared its reply. Andrei Vyshinsky spoke for the first time on October 29. His speech was an admixture of distortion, falsifications, and half-truths. In regard to the prisoner-of-war question, he maintained, despite all the evidence, that there were no prisoners who did not wish to be returned to the Communists. The issue of nonforcible repatriation was therefore a false issue; the real issue, he said, resulted from United States efforts to

detain by force prisoners of war and to keep them from going home. Mr. Vyshinsky failed to refer to any of the proposals made by the United Nations Command that would have submitted to impartial verification whether there were, in fact, any prisoners who did not desire to return and would have assured that there would be neither forcible retention nor forcible repatriation of prisoners.

The Soviet Union at this time introduced a resolution of its own, which, as subsequently amended by the U. S. S. R. during the course of the debate, proposed (1) an immediate cease-fire and (2) establishment of a commission to take immediate steps to settle the Korean question on the basis of the unification of Korea, to be effected by the Koreans themselves under the commission's supervision, and (3) reference of the question of the complete repatriation of all prisoners of war to the commission for solution. The Soviet draft resolution proposed a commission consisting of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the U. S. S. R., the Chinese Communists, India, Burma, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, the North Koreans, and the Republic of Korea, with decisions to be made by a two-thirds majority vote of the members. This procedure would in effect give the four Communist members a veto on any action by the commission. These Soviet proposals, for obvious reasons, were basically unacceptable to the United States and to many other members. The United States made it clear that it could not agree to provisions for an armistice in Korea that did not include agreement upon the immediate return of United Nations Command prisoners of war and a satisfactory solution of the whole prisoner question. To agree to an armistice leaving this crucial issue unsettled would permit the Communists to retain thousands of United States and other prisoners of war as hostages with which to seek to extort political concessions. The United States maintained the position that political discussions in regard to Korea could take place only after conclusion of an armistice that solved the prisoner-of-war question. At that time a political conference with appropriate membership could be convened, as already recommended by the negotiators in the draft armistice agreement.

The Vyshinsky speech narrowed the issues before the Assembly and singled out the real problem, the prisoner-of-war question, with the result that for the ensuing 6 weeks of Committee deliberation, debate centered on this issue. Except, of course, for the Soviet Union and its satellites, United Nations members unanimously agreed that every prisoner should be given an unrestricted opportunity to be repatriated but that no force should be used either to retain or to repatriate prisoners of war.

Consequently the efforts of the Committee centered on the development of proposals consistent with these principles that might lead to

an armistice. A number of delegations, in addition to the sponsors, supported the 21-power resolution. However, Mr. Vyshinsky had rejected this resolution in his opening speech, and the Secretary of State had declared that the sponsors of the 21-power resolution claimed no monopoly on wisdom and would consider any proposal consistent with the fundamental principle of nonforcible repatriation. Other delegations therefore sought to find alternative formulae that might lead to an armistice. Draft resolutions were introduced by Mexico and Peru, and various constructive suggestions were advanced in debate, while outside the Committee other delegations were informally considering and discussing proposals on the prisoner-of-war issue that might facilitate agreement on an armistice.

Indian Proposal

In November it became apparent that the Indian delegation was considering submitting a proposal of its own. Other delegations recognized the role that India, as a leading Asian power, might be able to play in persuading the Communists to agree to an armistice and encouraged India in its efforts to find a solution acceptable to the United Nations, as well as to the Communists. India indicated that it had approached the Chinese Communist regime and believed that its efforts might be successful. The United States welcomed these efforts, and, though it was not sanguine, it shared the universal hope that they might lead to peace with honor in Korea.

The Indian resolution was introduced in its original form on November 19. Krishna Menon, the Indian spokesman, in explaining his resolution, stated that he was not speaking for Communist China but to Communist China. Mr. Menon subsequently revised his resolution in several respects as a result of discussion in the Committee and comments by other delegations. In its original form, however, it provided for the establishment of a Repatriation Commission composed of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland, to which all prisoners of war should be released in agreed numbers and at agreed exchange points in the demilitarized zone. The resolution specified that no force should be used to repatriate prisoners. After classification according to nationality and domicile, prisoners would be free to return to their homelands forthwith. An umpire, who would become in effect a fifth member of the Commission, was to be named by the Commission itself; or in the event of its failure to agree upon his appointment within 3 weeks, the matter was to be referred to the Assembly. After the parties agreed upon a repatriation agreement embodying these provisions, the armistice would be concluded. At the end of 90 days the disposition of any prisoners whose return had not been effected would be referred to the political conference provided for in the draft armistice agreement.

For several days Communist spokesmen avoided comment on the Indian resolution, although representatives of the Soviet satellites specifically said that they had the proposal under consideration. On November 24, however, Mr. Vyshinsky, who had not previously been scheduled to speak, unexpectedly spoke in place of the Polish representative and delivered a lengthy address in which he completely rejected the Indian proposal and violently castigated the Indian Government. He accused India of following the United States lead and charged that its efforts were designed to continue the war in Korea rather than to end it. At the conclusion of his remarks Mr. Vyshinsky called attention to the latest revision of the Soviet proposal, which recommended an immediate cease-fire on the basis of the draft armistice agreement already approved, leaving the prisoner-of-war question to the political commission projected in the Soviet draft for solution.

At the same meeting the Secretary of State, who had been scheduled to speak before it was known that the Soviet delegate would take the floor, explained the United States position on the Indian resolution. Welcoming the Indian efforts, he commended India and its delegation for their statesmanlike approach to the Korean problem and their deep dedication to the cause of peace. Emphasizing that the Indian resolution clearly affirmed that no force should be used to detain or return prisoners, he recalled that he had said in his opening speech that the United States would welcome any proposals based on this principle. However, certain points in the Indian draft required clarification.

The Secretary of State pointed out that the 21-power resolution was based on the assumption that it might be easier to have the Assembly simply affirm the principle on which the prisoner-of-war question should be settled and leave its implementation to negotiations at Panmunjom. The Indian proposal, on the other hand, sought to offer a blueprint of a solution by specifying in detail the machinery to implement the principle of nonforcible repatriation. This approach was equally acceptable, but it required that any machinery should be workable and that the procedure envisaged should completely dispose of the prisoner-of-war question.

Mr. Acheson observed that from what Mr. Menon and the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, had said, there was agreement on two fundamental principles: that prisoners who cannot be repatriated without the use of force must not be detained in indefinite captivity and that the United Nations has the responsibility for caring for and resettling such persons within a brief fixed period after the end of hostilities. The language of the Indian proposal, however, had not captured this agreement; the provisions it made for dealing with nonrepatriates promised no solution in the foreseeable future and

threatened these unfortunate persons with indefinite captivity. There had to be a real alternative offered to prisoners in order that their repatriation would be nonforcible; they must have the understanding that within a quite definite period of time they would be released and find peaceful homes and pursuits with the help of the United Nations.

The Indian proposal, however, referred the question of any remaining nonrepatriates to the political conference to be called pursuant to the draft armistice agreement. If the discussions of over 6 months at Panmunjom and 4 weeks in the Assembly were any indication, it was rather futile to hope that the political conference could solve the question. In these circumstances it might be necessary to use force to turn them over to a commission from which they would have no exit except repatriation or indefinite captivity. Obviously India had not intended any such result.

The wisdom of referring the prisoner-of-war question to the political conference was also doubtful. It was questionable whether the conference could solve the problem, and it would be a bad start for the conference to begin with this question, almost certain to lead to a deadlock, when its chief concern was the very difficult problem of bringing about a unified, independent, and democratic Korea. Moreover the Secretary of State said that he was puzzled about what the conference would discuss on the prisoner issue. If, as seemed likely, it was to discuss resettlement of the prisoners, it was his view that this question could better be decided by the United Nations. Without taking an adamant position, he urged that the Committee carefully consider whether reference to the political conference was wise.

In concluding his remarks, the Secretary of State repeated that the United States welcomed the Indian proposal. He believed that the difficulties he had raised could be met, in which case his Government would most heartily support the Indian resolution, and if it should be adopted, faithfully and loyally do its best to carry it out. If the language of the resolution were perfected, as the Indian delegate intended, it would deserve the blessings of all members as it went to Korea. Two days later, on November 26, the Indian delegate submitted a revision of his proposal, providing that if at the end of 60 days there were any prisoners whose repatriation had not been effected or whose future had not been provided for by the political conference, "responsibility for their care and maintenance and for their subsequent disposition" would be transferred to the United Nations.

Mr. Vyshinsky's unequivocal rejection of the Indian proposal stirred considerable resentment among the members of the United Nations and dampened hopes that adoption of the Indian resolution might lead to an armistice. The Indian delegation, however, as well as others, persisted in the hope that even if the Soviet Union opposed the pro-

posal, the Chinese Communists might accept it, despite the fact that Mr. Vyshinsky stated that the Chinese Communist regime had informed the Indian Government that it did not accept this proposal. A communication from the Chinese Communists themselves to the United Nations, prior to the vote on the Indian resolution, did not mention the Indian resolution but strongly supported the Soviet draft.

Other delegations quickly rallied to the support of the Indian proposal. Even the sponsors of other resolutions and those who had made informal suggestions for solution of the prisoner-of-war question welcomed the Indian proposal, believing that it could serve as a basis for peace in Korea. In these circumstances the sponsors of the 21-power resolution decided they could agree to set aside their resolution in the expectation that the Indian resolution would command almost unanimous support in the Assembly and would therefore have the greatest chance of success in bringing about Communist agreement.

On November 24 the Iranian representative moved that the Political Committee give the Indian resolution priority in the voting since, in his opinion, that proposal had the best chance of being approved by the Assembly and the parties. The vote on granting priority was 49 to 5, with only the Soviet bloc opposed and with one abstention.

After the Committee vote giving the Indian resolution priority over the other pending proposals, Mr. Vyshinsky proceeded to introduce "amendments" to the Indian resolution which, by a complicated series of deletions and substitutions, in effect rendered it identical with the Soviet resolution. This device for circumventing the decision of the Committee to give the Indian resolution priority further antagonized some Committee members.

In a final statement on December 1 the Indian delegate clarified various points of interpretation of his proposal. He emphasized that India was seeking only to bring the parties together in a matter where the stability of the Asian continent was at stake. He expressed the hope that the Indian proposal could be adopted without dissent. In a bitter retort Mr. Vyshinsky denounced the Indian proposal, denied India's contention that it spoke in the interests of Asian peoples, and insisted that only his proposal, which required immediate cessation of hostilities, could lead to peace in Korea.

The Committee voted on the Indian resolution December 1. Although the Soviet amendments were obviously a device to obtain a vote on the Soviet proposals, it was considered preferable not to get into a procedural wrangle on this issue, and the Committee therefore followed normal procedure and voted on the Soviet amendments, which were overwhelmingly rejected. It adopted a Danish amendment to the Indian resolution, reducing from 60 to 30 days the period

to be given the political conference to dispose of the problem of nonrepatriates, who thereafter would become the responsibility of the United Nations. Finally the Committee adopted the Indian resolution by a vote of 53 to 5 (Soviet bloc), with China abstaining and Lebanon absent. The Chinese delegate had explained that he found the proposal satisfactory so far as the principle of nonforcible repatriation was concerned but unsatisfactory in other respects, including the dignity of title given the Peiping regime in the resolution.

Following adoption of the Indian resolution, Chairman João Carlos Muniz suggested that if the Committee agreed he would suspend further consideration of the item, including action on other resolutions on Korea before the Committee, until the report of the President of the General Assembly on the Communist response to the Indian proposal was received. The chairman explained that the other draft resolutions would remain pending on the Committee's agenda. While the sponsors of other pending resolutions concurred, the Soviet representative insisted that his proposal be put to vote. On December 2, therefore, the Committee voted on the Soviet resolution, rejecting it by a vote of 41 to 5, with 12 abstentions.

On December 3 the report of the Political Committee and the resolution that it had adopted were considered by the General Assembly in plenary session. In order to meet the Soviet contention that the resolution as approved by the Committee would not produce a cease-fire in Korea, the Indian delegation submitted an amendment to the preamble, inserting the words "so that an immediate cease-fire would result and be effected." This amendment was adopted by 53 votes to 0, with 5 abstentions. Once again the Soviet representative sought to obstruct the Assembly's action by submitting the same amendments as the Committee had rejected and which in effect transformed the Indian proposal into the Soviet draft resolution. These amendments were again overwhelmingly rejected. The resolution was adopted by 54 votes to 5, with China abstaining.

The Assembly's vote on this proposal represented the largest majority ever achieved on an important political question. It constituted an emphatic, clear endorsement of the position that the United States had taken on the prisoner-of-war issue. It put the onus for the failure of the armistice negotiations squarely on the Communists despite Soviet efforts to shift the blame to the United Nations Command by the propaganda proposal for an immediate cease-fire.

In explaining the United States affirmative vote, Ambassador Ernest A. Gross stated that the resolution showed the way to peace in Korea in accordance with United Nations principles. He emphasized that in affirming that no force should be used to repatriate prisoners the Assembly had indelibly recorded the respect of civilized

men for the rights and dignity of the individual human being. Once again the United Nations had taken the initiative to bring an end to the fighting in Korea. If the Communists rejected this effort to achieve an honorable armistice, it would be clear to all the world that the Communists did not want peace in Korea.

On December 5, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution, Lester B. Pearson, President of the Assembly, dispatched identical communications to the Chinese Communist regime and to the North Korean authorities transmitting the texts of the resolution, together with a message inviting its acceptance. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India also appealed to the Chinese Communists to accept the proposal. Nevertheless on December 14 the Chinese Communists, in a cable to Mr. Pearson, rejected the Assembly's resolution. A similar cable from the North Korean authorities was received on December 18. On December 20 Mr. Pearson reported the receipt of these two communications to the General Assembly and circulated the texts of the replies to all members.

Soviet Propaganda Move

Late on December 20 the Soviet delegation handed the Secretariat a memorandum, requesting that a new item entitled "the mass murder of Korean and Chinese prisoners of war by the United States military authorities on the island of Pongam" be included on the Assembly's agenda as an important and urgent matter. An accompanying explanatory note referred to a December 14 incident, reported in the press, in which American guards of the prisoner-of-war camp on the island of Pongam killed 82 and wounded 120 Korean and Chinese prisoners of war. The Soviet delegation proposed that the General Assembly "condemn" the alleged criminal acts of United States military authorities and "insist" that the United States end the alleged brutalities and call those guilty of committing them to strict account.

At Soviet insistence a meeting of the General Committee was convened the following afternoon, the day on which the Assembly was scheduled to recess. With the exception of the Czechoslovak representative, who supported the Soviet initiative, the other members of the General Committee recognized that the Soviet Union, having succeeded in prolonging the Korean war by rejecting the Assembly's resolution, was now trying to muddy the waters further by charging the United States with the mass murder of prisoners of war. They were, however, willing to see the item inscribed on the agenda so that the false charges could be exploded. The General Committee therefore recommended inclusion of the item, rephrased as "complaint of the mass murder of Korean and Chinese prisoners of war by the United States military authorities on the island of Pongam." It also recommended that the item be considered before the session suspended.

The Assembly reached this question late on the evening of December 21, after completing all other pending business. Ambassador Gross, United States representative, asked the Assembly to keep in mind three relevant factors: Soviet timing in raising the question, Soviet motives in doing so, and the substance of the charges. In his opinion the Assembly was now meeting to expose a shabby midnight propaganda stunt by the Soviet delegation.

Mr. Gross described in detail the actual situation on Pongam island where over 9,000 Korean civilian internees were held. On December 6 the camp command had reported indications of plans for a mass breakout. Eight days thereafter the plot matured in violence at Pongam. Only that amount of force absolutely necessary to bring the rioting prisoners under control had been used; the necessity for using force to repress inspired and centrally directed outbursts of fanatical violence by prisoners was obvious. In his view the purpose of the Pongam outbreak was to create the impression that all prisoners of war wished to be repatriated and were being held against their will.

Only the Soviet-bloc representatives supported the Soviet initiative. Other members were not beguiled by this propaganda maneuver; several expressed their own sense of outrage at the misuse of the United Nations and the disrespect for world public opinion represented in the Soviet proposal. At 4:45 a. m. on December 22 the Soviet resolution was decisively rejected by a vote of 45 to 5, with 10 abstentions.

Strengthening the United Nations

While the principle of collective security has been undergoing a crucial and difficult test on the battlefields in Korea, statesmen have sought to analyze the hard lessons of the Korean experience in the hope that the United Nations can be developed into a more effective agency for deterring or suppressing future aggression. The collective effort in Korea and the practical preparations within the United Nations of rudimentary plans for future collective measures are parallel strands in the fabric of security—a fabric that must be woven by the patience, determination, and collective wisdom of all states.

The United Nations had to improvise forces quickly in order to take collective measures against aggression in Korea, since Soviet intransigence had prevented the conclusion of the agreements making armed forces available to the Security Council provided for in the United Nations Charter. There was also the need to perfect the machinery and procedures of the United Nations to insure that in the event of a veto in the Security Council the organization could exercise its Charter function of maintaining or restoring international peace

and security. In response to these needs the General Assembly took an important first step in November 1950 by adopting the uniting-for-peace resolution.

The uniting-for-peace program provides the broad basis for building collective strength on a universal scale. It seeks to develop the potentiality of the General Assembly in the security field until such time as the Security Council can assume its responsibility in this regard. The five main features of the program are (1) a provision that the General Assembly can meet in 24 hours if the Security Council is prevented by the veto from exercising its primary responsibility for international peace and security; (2) a provision that in such cases the General Assembly can make recommendations to member states for collective measures, including the use of armed forces; (3) a recommendation that each member state maintain within its national armed forces elements that could promptly be made available for possible service as U.N. units; (4) the establishment of the Peace Observation Commission to observe and report in any area where international tension exists; (5) the creation of the Collective Measures Committee to study and report on the ways and means to strengthen international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

COLLECTIVE MEASURES COMMITTEE

The Collective Measures Committee—composed of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Egypt, France, Mexico, the Philippines, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia—submitted its first report to the General Assembly and Security Council on October 3, 1951. The Committee's report constituted the first systematic international attempt to study the field of collective security and provided solid foundation for further development of the United Nations collective security program.

The Committee was authorized by the sixth session of the General Assembly to continue its studies and carried forward its work during 1952 along two lines. First, it sought to stimulate further national preparatory action by encouraging states to develop and maintain armed contingents that could be available for possible United Nations service; second, it gave further, though less extensive, consideration to arrangements for coordinating the participation of states in collective measures under United Nations aegis.

Stimulating National Preparatory Action

During the past year the Collective Measures Committee continued to encourage states to develop further their plans to place themselves

in a better position to support future collective measures. Two communications were sent by the Secretary-General on behalf of the Collective Measures Committee. The first was addressed to member states on June 24, 1952, drawing their attention to the recommendations made by the General Assembly at its sixth session that states take additional steps to set aside forces for possible United Nations service, to make available assistance and facilities, and to ready themselves legislatively and administratively. A second letter was transmitted to nonmembers, asking them to consider ways and means whereby they could contribute to future collective measures undertaken by the United Nations.

Early in 1951 the Collective Measures Committee had requested United Nations members to provide it with information regarding steps taken or contemplated in implementation of the uniting-for-peace resolution recommendation that states organize, maintain, and train units within their armed forces for possible United Nations service. The responses of over 40 United Nations members to this request indicated that most of them were fully aware of the desirability of increasing their individual and collective strength for Charter purposes. Only a few, however, were able to pledge specific armed contingents for possible service as United Nations units.

Many of the states in their 1952 replies this past year pointed to their continuing material and moral support of the United Nations collective action in Korea and to their participation in certain regional groupings. They once again pledged their general support to future collective measures. In addition they gave some indication of their ability, from the legislative and administrative points of view, to take prompt action in the event of a future recommendation for collective action by the United States. These responses were of considerable psychological and political importance and should assist in the eventual achievement of the long-range program envisaged by the uniting-for-peace program. It is significant also that a number of nonmembers associated themselves with the work of the Collective Measures Committee by providing for the first time some indication of the steps they are taking in support of the United Nations collective security system.

The United States, in its communication to the Collective Measures Committee, pointed out that it is contributing both armed forces and assistance and facilities to the United Nations action to repel aggression and to restore peace in Korea. It referred to the fact that the United States is making a significant contribution to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in order to buttress, within an important area, the United Nations capacity for maintaining international peace and security. The United States response further indicated that "The legislative and administrative arrangements of the United

States are such that this Government by appropriate governmental action in accordance with its constitutional processes can participate in United Nations collective measures in appropriate circumstances."

Coordinating Collective Action

The second phase of the work of the Collective Measures Committee in 1952 was directed toward filling in the broad blueprint for coordinating collective action developed in its 1951 report. In addition the Committee broadened the scope of its study to include topics suggested by member states not participating in its discussions.

Economic and Financial Measures

Arms Embargo and List of Strategic Materials.—Elaborating on its previous preliminary examination of collective measures of an economic and financial character, the Committee drew up lists of categories of arms, ammunition, and implements of war and of other items of strategic importance. These lists were prepared for use should the Security Council or the General Assembly decide upon or recommend an embargo, on the assumption that their availability would assist in cutting down the amount of time required to apply effectively either a total or a selective embargo in the event of future collective action.

The Role of Specialized Agencies.—Recognizing that the specialized agencies, as well as other international bodies and arrangements, are part of the fabric of international peace, the Committee also examined further the role of the specialized agencies in case of any future collective action.

It concluded that, while none of the specialized agencies had been organized with a view to assisting in collective measures, nevertheless they could perform, subject to their own constitutional limitations, important and useful functions in support of such measures through participation in programs of assistance and by withholding benefits or suspending membership rights. It was recognized, however, that each specialized agency is responsible for deciding the kind and the extent of its participation in future collective measures.

Equitable Sharing of Burdens.—The economic and financial aspects of equitable sharing of burdens involved in collective action were given further thoughtful analysis by the Collective Measures Committee. The Committee's work this year was essentially an elaboration of one of the guiding principles set forth in the first report of the Collective Measures Committee, which stated:

The application of economic and financial measures whether to weaken the aggressor or to assist the victim states or cooperating states, should, as a matter

of mutual assistance, be equitably shared as far as possible among the cooperating states, taking into account the total burden borne by them in relation to the collective action, and their abilities.

The Committee expressed the view that consideration should be given by the Security Council or the General Assembly to the setting up of machinery through which consultations on all such problems could be undertaken promptly after the application of collective measures.

Assistance in Case of Hostile Economic Pressures.—The Committee explored the kinds of economic measures that might be appropriate in the event the Security Council or the General Assembly determined that a state was a victim of hostile economic pressures constituting a threat to the peace. The Committee concluded that essentially the same kind of economic measures that would assist victims of aggression would be appropriate in cases of states being subjected to economic pressures. These measures could include steps to expand the trade of the victim, to improve the victim state's access to raw materials, and to transfer directly supplies, services, or purchasing power to the victim.

Military Measures

Continuing its study of possible military measures, the Collective Measures Committee focused its attention in 1952 primarily on the problems of maximizing national contributions in support of collective military action and of establishing a United Nations Volunteer Reserve. It also approved on April 15, 1952, the Panel of Military Experts, provided for by the uniting-for-peace resolution and appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with the states concerned. The members of this panel are now available to states desiring to obtain technical advice on the organization, training, and equipment of elements of their armed forces for possible service as United Nations units.

Expressing concern that only a minority of United Nations members have supplied military forces for Korea, New Zealand suggested in a memorandum of June 13, 1952, that the Collective Measures Committee study what the United Nations could do to maximize the contributions needed in order to support fully a future collective military action. The Committee concluded that one method that should be considered by the Security Council and the General Assembly to obtain maximum military assistance in case of future collective action is the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Negotiating Committee to deal directly with states in respect to their contributions. Such a committee would be analogous to the committees established by the General Assembly to obtain contributions for the relief operations undertaken in Korea and Palestine.

United Nations Volunteer Reserve.—The Collective Measures Committee also had before it a study made by the Secretary-General, envisaging volunteer reserves within the national military establishments that would be available to the United Nations in case of future collective action. Believing that at least 50,000 to 60,000 men of satisfactory status would be found throughout the world ready to volunteer for United Nations service in advance of an act of aggression, the Secretary-General suggested that the United Nations, with the assistance of and in agreement with cooperating states, call for such volunteers. These volunteers would be recruited, equipped, and trained through the existing military establishments of the cooperating states and would be organized into special United Nations reserve units to be held in active reserve status within national military reserve establishments pending mobilization for United Nations service. In an emergency they would constitute an effective international volunteer force to supplement other forces made available by states to a United Nations Executive Military Authority.

In the time at its disposal the Collective Measures Committee was able to give only preliminary consideration to the Secretary-General's plan and was therefore not able to make any decision on its merits, in terms of either its political possibilities or its military feasibility. However, the Committee concluded that there should be additional study of the proposals and that such consideration should take into account the views of interested states.

Sustaining the Uniting-for-Peace Program

The Committee recommended in its second report that the work it has performed in the last 2 years should be continued with a view to undertaking further study, examining information furnished by states on the progress being made by them in their preparations, and reporting as appropriate to the Security Council and the General Assembly. This report remained to be reviewed by the General Assembly during the second part of its seventh session.

Disarmament

Since the founding of the United Nations, the United States has persistently attempted to attain agreement on a comprehensive and safeguarded disarmament program, including the prohibition of atomic weapons as the result of an effective system of international control over atomic energy. The United States has played a leading role from 1946 on in the various United Nations efforts to regulate armaments. In November 1951 the United States, joined by the United Kingdom and France, proposed that the sixth session of the

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General Assembly should establish a new commission in order to attempt a fresh approach to the difficult problems of disarmament. This proposal was adopted, with slight modifications, by an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly on January 11, 1952.

Under the Assembly's resolution the new United Nations Disarmament Commission, composed of the members of the Security Council, plus Canada, was given the task of preparing draft proposals to be embodied in a treaty (or treaties) for submission to a conference of all states concerning (1) regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments; (2) elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; (3) effective international control of atomic energy to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only, with the United Nations control plan being used as the basis for the Commission's considerations until a better or no less effective plan is devised.

In the meetings of the Commission and its committees during 1952 the United States, individually or in concert with the United Kingdom and France, attempted to make progress by considering the problems of disarmament on a comprehensive basis, which encompassed all armaments and all armed forces. While the Western proposals were welcomed by most of the other members of the Disarmament Commission, the Soviet Union demonstrated a remarkable lack of interest in any real progress toward disarmament. The U. S. S. R. rejected the views of the Western Powers, even as a basis for discussion, and attempted to disrupt the work of the Commission by charging repeatedly that the United States was employing bacteriological warfare in Korea.

PLAN OF WORK

The Disarmament Commission held its first organizational meeting on February 4, 1952, in Paris. At its second meeting in New York on March 14, 1952, the United States introduced a short draft plan of work covering the most important phases of the Commission's task. Ambassador Benjamin V. Cohen, speaking on behalf of the United States, emphasized the desire of his Government to proceed as rapidly as possible to the goal of an open world where national armaments would be reduced drastically and where mass armies and other instruments of mass destruction would be completely eliminated, so that no state need stand in fear of aggression from any other state.

The Soviet Union submitted its draft plan of work at the Commission's third meeting and, in fact, really made no proposals other than

this draft plan during the entire course of the Commission's deliberations. Although ostensibly a work plan, the Soviet draft actually called on the Commission to adopt all of the old Soviet proposals consistently rejected by the General Assembly since 1948, plus one new item, in effect accusing the United States of waging bacteriological warfare in North Korea and Communist China. This plan included the familiar Soviet demands for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, through a "paper" declaration without means to insure that the declaration was honored, and for a one-third reduction within a year of the armaments and armed forces of the Soviet Union, the United States, Communist China, the United Kingdom, and France. It also proposed a prohibition of bacterial weapons and the calling to account of those violating this prohibition. All states would be called on to supply official information on their armaments and armed forces after adoption of the "decision" on the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and the one-third reduction of armed forces and other armaments. The actual prohibition of atomic weapons (as opposed to the "paper" declaration) would go into effect simultaneously with the institution of strict international control over this prohibition. A world conference would be convened to consider the question of substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces, as well as practical measures to prohibit atomic weapons and to establish international controls over this prohibition. The Disarmament Commission should prepare and submit to the Security Council a draft convention concerning implementation of the decisions to prohibit atomic weapons and cease their production, to use existing atomic weapons for civilian purposes, and to establish strict international controls. An international control organ, under the Soviet plan, would be established within the framework of the Security Council, with supervisory responsibilities in the atomic and nonatomic fields, but its right to inspect on a continuing basis would be limited by the proviso that it could not "interfere in the domestic affairs of States."

At no time during the Disarmament Commission's deliberations did the Soviet Union representative actually explain the meaning of the shadowy and elusive proposals contained in this plan of work. Various members of the Commission frequently requested clarification of such points in the Soviet proposals as the meaning of a decision to prohibit the atomic weapon and to establish an international system of controls; whether this meant merely a broad agreement that a control organ be set up or meant that a detailed plan for operation of the control organ would have been completely accepted and written into the decision. What, it was asked, were the limitations attaching to the Soviet provision that the control organ should possess the right of inspection without interference in the domestic affairs of states, and

did strict international control mean anything more than inspection? In response to these and other pertinent questions, the U. S. S. R. representative consistently replied that the purpose of these questions was to obscure the concrete Soviet proposals; that the proposals were self-explanatory; that the raising of these questions was in itself a device to avoid discussing the substance of the U. S. S. R. proposals; and, in brief, that the Soviet proposals had to be accepted before the Soviet Union would give any details on their meaning.

Most of the Commission members pointed out that the differences between the United States and the Soviet plans of work were not merely procedural but based upon two contradictory theses. The United States plan was based on theories accepted by the General Assembly, while the ideas incorporated in the U. S. S. R.'s plan had been rejected by the Assembly. The members of the Commission further pointed out that the Soviet substantive positions could be discussed adequately under the neutrally phrased United States draft plan of work without prejudging them, while approval of the Soviet work plan would prejudge the Commission's work. Five more meetings were required before the Commission approved on March 28, 1952, by a vote of 11 to 1 (U. S. S. R.) a compromise plan of work proposed by the French, which (as amended in August to insert the words "including bacterial weapons") provided that the Disarmament Commission should consider—

1. Disclosure and verification of all armaments, including atomic, and of all armed forces.
2. Regulation of all armaments and armed forces including elimination of atomic weapons and control of atomic energy with a view to insuring their elimination; elimination of weapons of mass destruction, including bacterial weapons and control, with a view to insuring their elimination; limitation and balanced reduction of all other armaments and all armed forces.
3. Procedure and timetable for giving effect to the disarmament program.

Points 1 and 2 were to be studied concurrently in the first stage of the Commission's work, and the Commission consequently organized itself into two working committees of the whole, Committee I being concerned with regulation of armaments and armed forces and Committee II with disclosure and verification.

WESTERN PROPOSALS

In the course of the 1952 deliberations of the Disarmament Commission and its Committees, the United States sponsored or joined

in sponsoring five substantive proposals. The first, submitted to Committee II at its first meeting on April 5, was a working paper on "Proposals for Progressive and Continuing Disclosure and Verification of All Armed Forces and All Armaments, Including Atomic." The second, submitted April 24 in the third meeting of Committee I, was "Essential Principles for a Disarmament Program," stating further objectives and principles to guide the Disarmament Commission. The third proposal was a working paper sponsored jointly by the United States, France, and the United Kingdom, submitted to the full Commission on May 28, entitled "Proposals for Fixing Numerical Limitation of All Armed Forces," suggesting possible levels of armed forces for the Five Great Powers with negotiable ceilings for all other states having substantial military power. The fourth was a "Supplement to the Tripartite Numerical Limitation Paper," introduced in the Commission on August 12, suggesting procedures for working out ceilings on armed forces and armaments to support these forces. The fifth substantive proposal, submitted by the United States to the Commission on September 4, was the "Summary of United States Proposals for Elimination of Bacteriological Weapons in Connection with Elimination of All Major Weapons Adaptable to Mass Destruction," which is discussed in the next section of this report concerning bacteriological warfare charges.

Progressive and Continuing Disclosure and Verification

The United States working paper on "Proposals for Progressive and Continuing Disclosure and Verification of All Armed Forces and All Armaments, Including Atomic" was submitted in accordance with the instructions of the General Assembly that the Commission should consider this problem from the outset of its work.

The paper suggested five stages of disclosure and verification, or inventory and inspection, each stage after the first to commence when the previous stage had been satisfactorily completed. The concept of stages was conceived in an attempt to protect all states, in the event of a serious violation or collapse of the program, by providing a continuing check on the good faith of other states. The United States suggested that the disclosure and verification system should proceed from the less secret to the more secret information, both to prevent premature disclosure of more secret information until substantial cooperation and good faith had been demonstrated through carrying out the previous stage and also because the less secret information could be more readily verified. Information in the nonatomic and atomic fields should be roughly parallel, both in the extent of the disclosure and in the verification of the information obtained. The first stage included sufficient information so that upon its completion, in the opinion of United States experts, all countries would have

a clear though general indication of the strength of all other countries, even in atomic weapons. This first stage proposed a count in the nature of a report on the existing strength of all armed forces, as well as the location of installations and facilities concerned with armaments of all types, including atomic.

The second stage would provide detailed information on the organization of these armed forces and on the installations and facilities required to produce all armaments, including atomic. The third stage would give detailed information on armaments (except novel armaments that were not in general use at the end of World War II but are in volume production today), as well as detailed disclosure of fissionable material and installations and facilities utilized in the production of armaments and fissionable material. The fourth stage would give detailed information on the installations and facilities used to produce novel armaments, including atomic weapons. The fifth stage would provide detailed disclosure of the novel armaments themselves and of atomic weapons.

The United States representative emphasized that the working paper was intended to provide only a basis for discussion and that the United States position on the details of a system was quite flexible. However, the information provided by the operation of the disclosure and verification system would be needed in order to provide details for working out other aspects of a comprehensive disarmament program.

The Soviet representative, however, took the position that nothing could be accomplished in the Disarmament Commission unless the Commission first accepted *in toto* the Soviet proposals. He accused the United States of seeking merely the establishment of a gigantic intelligence scheme and castigated the concept of stages as devised in order to give the United States time to carry out its rearmament program, while failing to provide for prohibition of atomic weapons and reduction of armed forces and nonatomic armaments. When the United States representative expressed the hope that the U. S. S. R. might cooperate in working out a scheme of disclosure and verification and asked if there was any form of international control, not subject to a Soviet veto, that would be regarded by the U. S. S. R. as fair and impartial international control, the Soviet representative responded with a propaganda barrage, declaring that the policy of the United States was not one of peace but of aggression and preparation for a new world war.

Essential Principles

In response to the Soviet representative's insistence in Committee I that it was necessary to agree on principles before replying to various questions, the United States on April 24 submitted a proposal on

"Essential Principles for a Disarmament Program." This represented an attempt to clarify and agree on objectives and principles that the United States believed should guide the Disarmament Commission in developing the details of a comprehensive disarmament program. The true goal of the Disarmament Commission was summed up succinctly in the first and second principles of this proposal: that the goal of disarmament is not to regulate but to prevent war; that to achieve this goal all states must cooperate to establish an open and substantially disarmed world in which armed forces and armaments will be so reduced that no state will be in a condition of armed preparedness to start a war, and in which any preparations for war will be known to other states long before an offending state would start a war.

The remainder of these "essential principles" suggested the means for reaching these objectives. The United States emphasized that there should be progressive reduction of armed forces and permitted armaments to agreed maximum levels, radically less than present levels, and balanced throughout the process of reduction to prevent any disequilibrium of power dangerous to peace. All instruments adaptable to mass destruction, whatever their nature, should be eliminated. Effective safeguards must be provided to insure that all phases of the disarmament program are carried out, in particular eliminating atomic weapons through an effective system of international control of atomic energy to insure that it is used for peaceful purposes only. There must be an effective system of progressive and continuing disclosure and verification of all armed forces and all armaments, including atomic, in order to achieve the open world in which alone there could be effective disarmament.

The Soviet representative objected that these principles confused the issue and were too vague. In subsequent discussions in Committee I, he did not respond to various questions seeking a clarification of the Soviet position but, instead, resorted to diatribes in which he claimed that the United States sought only to substitute the collection of information on armaments for decisions to prohibit atomic weapons and to reduce armaments and castigated the United Nations atomic energy control plan.

With regard to atomic energy, the United States representative said that the United States adhered to the General Assembly position, which was to support the United Nations plan until a better or no less effective one had been found, but that the United States had an open mind on other ideas and views and would reject no plan without fair consideration of its merits. The previous Soviet proposals in the atomic field had been rejected by the United Nations, and it was possible that the so-called "new" Soviet position retrogressed further

than the old proposals in view of the qualifications imposed by the Soviet Union concerning noninterference in domestic affairs.

Numerical Limitations of All Armed Forces

At the May 28 meeting of the full Commission the United States, France, and the United Kingdom submitted a working paper setting forth "Proposals for Fixing Numerical Limitations of All Armed Forces." The Three Powers emphasized that there was no one automatic formula that could inflexibly be applied in all cases, that limiting the numbers of permitted armed forces was only a part of the Disarmament Commission's task, and that there also had to be limitation of the types and quantities of armaments that should be allowed to support permitted armed forces. The Three Powers believed that it was necessary to prohibit and eliminate all weapons adaptable to mass destruction. In their view, however, even tentative agreement on ceilings for permitted armed forces would greatly facilitate agreement on these other matters.

The essence of the tripartite proposals was a suggestion that there should be equal maximum ceilings for the United States, the U. S. S. R., and China of, say, between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000; that the maximum ceilings for the United Kingdom and France should be equal, say between 700,000 and 800,000. As for all other states having substantial armed forces, there should be agreed maximum ceilings, fixed in relation to the ceilings agreed upon by the Five Great Powers, normally less than 1 percent of the population and normally less than current levels, except in very special circumstances. All these ceilings should be determined in such a way as to avoid a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security in any part of the world and thus to minimize the danger of war.

The representative of the United Kingdom pointed out that the tripartite proposals differed from the Soviet scheme, which provided for reduction by an arbitrary percentage of one-third from unknown levels, with the result that it could not be known what relative strengths would be after the reductions. The tripartite proposal suggested fixed ceilings in balance with each other so that none of the Five Powers would have cause to fear attack from the other and covered all states with substantial armed forces, while the Soviet plan dealt only with the Five Powers. He noted that the effect of the tripartite proposals would be to reduce the armed forces of the United States by over 50 percent, those of the U. S. S. R. by an estimated 40 percent to 60 percent, and those of the United Kingdom by 33 percent, whereas the U. S. S. R. advocated only a one-third reduction. The United States pointed out that these proposals were flexible—a basis for discussion; that the basic purpose of proposing

ceilings on armed forces was to avoid a dangerous disequilibrium of power and to minimize the danger of war.

Once again, although the other members of the Disarmament Commission welcomed the initiative of the Three Powers in presenting such proposals, the Soviet representative rejected them even as a basis for discussion and argued that they ignored the question of prohibition of atomic weapons and reduction of armaments. At the same time he attempted to misinterpret the tripartite proposals by claiming that the ceilings on "armed forces" obviously did not include air and naval forces, despite the constant reiteration by the representatives of the Three Powers that land, sea, and air forces were included.

Supplement to the Numerical Limitations Paper

The United States, France, and the United Kingdom at the Commission meeting on August 12 introduced a supplement to their previous tripartite working paper. This supplement emphasized that any agreement on numerical limitations of armed forces necessarily would include provisions limiting armaments in types and quantities to those necessary and appropriate to support permitted armed forces; permitted armed forces should be distributed in national military establishments in such a way as to prevent undue concentration in any particular armed service or branch of a service, and thus avoid prejudicing balanced reduction of armed forces; and procedures should be devised for negotiating mutually agreed programs, within overall limitations, for limiting armed forces and armaments by all states with substantial military resources.

The Three Powers suggested that, if the previous tripartite proposals for numerical limitations of all armed forces were accepted by the Disarmament Commission, one possible procedure for developing an agreed disarmament program might be for representatives of the Five Great Powers, as permanent members of the Security Council, to confer and attempt to reach tentative agreement on three essential points: (1) how they would distribute their permitted armed forces among their respective armed services; (2) the extent of armaments they would consider necessary and appropriate to support these limited permitted armed forces; (3) how they would prohibit and eliminate all other armed forces and all armaments above those expressly permitted, it being specifically understood that provision would be made to eliminate all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction and to prohibit atomic weapons as the result of establishing an effective system of international control of atomic energy. When the Great Powers agreed on these problems, regional conferences might be held by all other governments and authorities having sub-

stantial military forces, in order to reach similar tentative agreement on the overall numerical ceilings for their armed forces in the light of the ceilings agreed upon by the Five Powers and to agree upon the three specific problems just mentioned.

The tripartite supplement further suggested that the timing and coordination of the reductions, prohibitions, and eliminations should insure that there would be balanced reductions of overall armed strength at all stages throughout the disarmament process until the agreed limits were reached. In order to supervise this program, an international control authority should be established at the commencement of the program, which would progressively assume its functions to insure the carrying out of these limitations, reductions, curtailments, and prohibitions.

In introducing the above proposals, the representatives of the United States, France, and the United Kingdom emphasized the broad scope for negotiation suggested by this supplemental paper, which would avoid any possibility that the disarmament program could be dictated by a majority of states or imposed by a minority. They noted that the proposal specifically included all types of armed forces and armaments and involved a practical and realistic approach which was advanced as a basis for serious discussion, particularly with the U. S. S. R., and not as a hard and fast plan of fixed detail.

Once again the representative of the Soviet Union rejected these proposals, even as a basis for discussion. This time he argued that the tripartite scheme was too complex, laid down too many reservations and conditions, and did not provide directly for effective reduction of all armed forces and prohibition of the atomic weapon.

Seventh Session of the General Assembly

At the 30th meeting of the Disarmament Commission on October 1, the Commission adopted by a vote of 11 to 1 (U. S. S. R.) the report summarizing its activities. Consideration of this report was on the agenda for the seventh session of the General Assembly, but this item had not been reached by the time the session was suspended on December 22. It therefore remained for discussion at the second part of the session.

On October 17 the Polish delegation submitted a resolution involving disarmament proposals, which was also referred for consideration to the General Assembly's Political Committee and will be considered during the second part of the seventh session. The portion of this resolution involving disarmament was almost identical, word for word, with the proposals made by the Soviet Union at the sixth session of the General Assembly in Paris in 1951. This part of the Polish resolution put forward the time-worn Soviet proposals for a one-third re-

duction of the armed forces of the Five Great Powers within 1 year; submission of full data on armaments by these powers; calling of an international disarmament conference by the Security Council "as soon as possible"; adoption of a decision on unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and establishment of strict international control over the implementation of that decision; adherence to the 1925 Geneva poison gas and bacteriological warfare protocol by all states that had not ratified or adhered to the protocol. Finally the Polish draft resolution requested a General Assembly declaration that participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization could not be reconciled with membership in the United Nations and called upon the United States, the U. S. S. R., Great Britain, France, and China to conclude a peace pact.

Bacteriological Warfare Charges

1952 was the year of the "big lie," in which the Communists employed every possible means to intensify their previous sporadic propaganda campaign charging the United States with using bacteriological warfare against troops and civilians in North Korea and Communist China. These false charges constitute the most intensive propaganda campaign waged by the Communist world since the end of World War II, employing every possible medium, including films portraying "confessions" by United States airmen, and utilizing every possible forum, including the United Nations. These charges were reminiscent of the Communist attempt to explain away the failure of the potato crop in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia in 1950 by accusing the United States of dropping potato bugs from airplanes to destroy the crop. While the present campaign may have served the need of Communist authorities to explain away their failures to solve sanitation problems in North Korea and Communist China, it had far more ambitious objectives than the potato bug farce. The campaign of false charges was aimed at discrediting the United Nations collective security action in Korea and United States leadership of the free world.

On March 4, 1952, shortly after the intensive bacteriological warfare campaign was launched by Peiping radio, the Secretary of State categorically denied the charges and challenged the Communists to agree to an impartial investigation of the facts. On March 11 he requested the International Committee of the Red Cross to carry out such an investigation. The Committee agreed, provided that both parties would cooperate, and suggested utilizing a committee of independent and scientifically qualified experts, including those from Far Eastern countries "not taking part in the conflict." This offer

was accepted by the United States at once. However, the Communist propaganda machine immediately began a drive to blacken the reputation of the Committee, even though *Humanité*, the leading French Communist newspaper, and various Red Cross organizations in Communist countries had previously suggested a Red Cross investigation. The Chinese Communists, apparently in order to forestall any objective investigation, created their own "investigation commission," while another "investigation" was made by a committee of the Communist-controlled International Association of Democratic Jurists. Both groups, of course, produced reports intended to prove United States use of bacteriological warfare. In September 1952 a more ambitious effort, the report of the Communist-sponsored "International Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China," was published by the Chinese Communists and circulated by the Soviet Union in the United Nations on October 8, 1952. This Commission, composed of Communists and fellow-travelers, followed the same general line as its predecessors. Scientists not under Communist control have ridiculed the germ warfare charges.

INTRODUCTION OF CHARGES IN THE UNITED NATIONS

The Soviet Union brought the propaganda campaign into the United Nations on March 14, 1952, when it introduced the bacteriological warfare charges into the Disarmament Commission during debate on the Commission's plan of work and, despite the United States representative's firm denials of these charges, repeated them at length. On March 28 the chairman of the Commission ruled that the Disarmament Commission was not, because of its terms of reference, a proper forum in which to make or discuss specific charges on the use of bacteriological warfare or any other kind of warfare. When the Soviet representative challenged this ruling, the chairman was upheld by 11 votes to 1 (U. S. S. R.).

Having failed in its attempt to use the Disarmament Commission as a propaganda forum for airing the false charges, the U. S. S. R. sought to further the slightly different but corollary propaganda line that, because the United States did not endorse Soviet proposals to have those nations that have not done so adopt the 1925 Geneva Protocol "prohibiting" the use of poison gas and bacteriological warfare, the United States was opposed to any prohibition on the use of gas and bacteriological weapons. Jacob Malik of the Soviet Union insisted that the Disarmament Commission had a duty to call on all states that had not yet ratified or adhered to the 1925 protocol to do so at once.

On May 28, 1952, Ambassador Cohen explained the United States position, pointing out that the United States had signed but not ratified the protocol because the United States Senate did not consider this the best way of meeting the problem of gas warfare, which was the principal concern of the protocol. However, the United States attitude on the use of this type of warfare was best evidenced by its record in World War II, during which the United States did not employ these weapons even though their availability to the United States probably deterred Hitler from resorting to gas warfare. In 1947, on the basis of experience with the paper pledges of various totalitarian governments, the President withdrew the protocol from the Senate since it appeared clear that the paper-pledge approach had become obsolete.

The United States representative emphasized that those who made false charges concerning the use of bacteriological warfare could just as easily make false promises not to use bacterial weapons. He pointed out that the U. S. S. R., when it ratified the protocol, reserved the right to use bacteriological weapons against states or their allies that did not respect the protocol. If every member of the United Nations adhered to the 1925 Geneva Protocol at once, the Soviet Union could therefore rely on Communist lies alleging United Nations use of bacterial weapons in Korea to justify employing bacteriological warfare against United Nations members.

The United States representative declared that the United States wanted to eliminate bacteriological warfare as part of a comprehensive and balanced disarmament program. It was not enough to say only that the use of bacteriological weapons should be prohibited, except in retaliation for their employment by an enemy, while allowing these weapons to be produced and stockpiled. Real security in this respect could be obtained only if bacteriological weapons were eliminated as part of a comprehensive disarmament program. This could be accomplished if the U. S. S. R. and other states were willing, as the United States was willing, to establish an effective system of safeguards. The most important safeguard was an open world in which no state could develop military strength necessary for aggression without other states having ample warning and the opportunity to protect themselves.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

Shortly thereafter the Soviet Union turned to the Security Council and proposed on June 15, 1952, that the Council urge all states, if they had not yet done so, to ratify or accede to the 1925 Geneva Protocol. On June 26 the Soviet motion failed by a vote of 1 to 0,

with 10 abstentions, most Security Council members pointing out that the question of prohibition and regulation of armaments was then under consideration in the Disarmament Commission, which was the proper forum for such an item.

Following the submission of the Soviet Geneva Protocol item, the United States on June 20 submitted a draft resolution to the Security Council requesting the International Committee of the Red Cross, "with the aid of such scientists of international reputation and such other experts as it may select, to investigate the charges (concerning the use of bacteriological warfare by U. N. forces in Korea) and to report the results to the Security Council as soon as possible." The resolution also called upon all governments and authorities concerned to cooperate with the Committee. Ambassador Ernest A. Gross of the United States pointed out that Soviet representative Malik had attempted to invoke the Geneva Protocol in order to cast the invidious implication that United States failure to ratify the protocol was proof that the United States wanted to have a free hand to wage germ warfare. The United States representative therefore urged Security Council action requesting an impartial investigation of the charges by the Committee, in order to prevent these charges from continuing to poison the relations between states and to obscure the historic significance of the United Nations action in repelling aggression in Korea. The item was placed on the Security Council agenda on June 25 by a vote of 10 to 1 (U. S. S. R.).

On July 3 the Soviet Union cast a veto to prevent passage of the United States resolution, although the resolution was approved by all other members of the Council. The United States immediately introduced another resolution, which concluded from the refusal of those making the charges to permit an impartial investigation that the charges must be presumed to be without substance and false, and condemned the fabrication and dissemination of such charges.

Once again the U. S. S. R. cast a veto, its 50th, to prevent passage of this resolution. The United States representative stated that despite this veto he believed it was clear that the majority of Security Council members considered that the campaign of lies and hate carried on by the Soviet Union was directed against the United Nations itself and that they were determined to watch the progress of this campaign of hate very closely in all its manifestations.

Despite its unwillingness to permit an investigation of the bacteriological warfare charges, the Soviet Union continued its propaganda campaign not only through its controlled-publicity media but also at the 18th International Red Cross Conference held in Toronto, Canada, from July 23 to August 9, 1952.

REAFFIRMATION OF UNITED STATES POSITION

In the Disarmament Commission on August 15, 1952, Ambassador Cohen expanded on the United States position on eliminating bacteriological warfare previously set forth in the Commission on May 28. He emphasized the United States belief that the problem of bacterial warfare must be included as an essential part of a comprehensive and balanced disarmament program and not dealt with merely as an isolated problem. The United States representative declared it would be a grave mistake to assume that because the United States had not ratified the Geneva Protocol it was opposed to the general objective of the treaty, particularly in view of United States efforts in drafting the 1925 protocol and earlier in drafting the 1922 Washington Treaty from which the principal provisions of the Geneva Protocol were derived. The United States approved the general objective of the protocol but believed that historical evidence had demonstrated the protocol's inability to achieve this objective. The U. S. S. R. itself had in 1932 declared that the Geneva Protocol was inadequate and that it was necessary to prohibit preparations for chemical warfare in peacetime, which was essentially the present United States position. The United States purpose was not to discredit the worthy objective of the Geneva Protocol but to find means adequate and effective to obtain this objective. It was not without significance that, in the two wars in the 20th century in which poison gas was used, its use was inaugurated by states that had bound themselves on paper not to use it.

The United States representative emphasized that aggressor states starting wars in violation of their treaty obligations cannot be trusted to keep their paper promises regarding the methods of waging wars. Consequently the United States believed that all weapons should be eliminated that were not expressly permitted as necessary and appropriate to support the limited number of armed forces that may be permitted to states to maintain proper order and to meet their United Nations Charter obligations. The United States would support effective proposals to eliminate all weapons adaptable to mass destruction, including atomic, chemical, and bacteriological weapons. It would be a fraud to say that it was enough to promise not to use these weapons except in retaliation without any safeguards to insure that this promise would be honored. The United States believed that practical safeguards to insure eliminating bacteriological weapons were possible, along with the elimination of mass armed forces and all weapons adaptable to mass destruction; that the princi-

pal safeguard to elimination of bacteriological weapons was the operation of an effective and continuous system of disclosure and verification of armed forces and armaments.

These United States views were later summarized in a working paper submitted to the Disarmament Commission on September 4, 1952, which concluded by proposing that, at appropriate stages in an effective system of disclosure and verification, agreed measures should become effective providing for the progressive curtailment of production, the progressive dismantling of plants, and the progressive destruction of stockpiles of bacteriological weapons and related appliances.

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In the opening days of the General Assembly, Soviet Union and satellite representatives repeated their familiar propaganda concerning United States and United Nations use of bacteriological warfare in the Korean theater. The U. S. S. R. even filed as a United Nations document and requested circulation of the report of the Communist-controlled "International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China." Consequently the United States on October 20 filed as an urgent and important matter a request to add to the Assembly's agenda an item entitled "Question of Impartial Investigation of Charges of Use by United Nations Forces of Bacteriological Warfare." In its explanatory memorandum the United States referred to the Communist propaganda campaign to inspire hatred of the United States and to discredit United Nations action in Korea and cited the fabrication of "scientific evidence" by so-called investigation commissions carefully selected to insure that their findings would buttress this propaganda campaign. Note was taken that these charges had just been repeated in the present session of the General Assembly by representatives of Poland and the Soviet Union; that the charges themselves, coupled with the refusal of those making the charges to agree to an impartial investigation, impaired friendly relations and created a situation that should be considered by the General Assembly as an urgent and important matter and on which appropriate action should be taken. On October 21 the item requested by the United States was added to the Assembly's agenda, but the Assembly suspended its session in December before discussing this item. It therefore remained to be considered during the second part of the seventh session.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND OTHER EFFORTS TO IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Another important responsibility of the United Nations under the Charter is to assist the parties to international disputes to reach a mutually acceptable solution of their differences and to try to bring about the alleviation of potentially dangerous situations, so as to guard against the development of threats to the peace or open hostilities. As in previous years, therefore, the United Nations in 1952 made a major effort to resolve specific political problems in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia in order to reduce international tensions and obviate the possibility of a resort to violence.

Some of these problems, such as Kashmir and Palestine, had been the objects of United Nations efforts over a period of years; others, such as the Austrian treaty question and the relations between France and its North African protectorates, were new to the United Nations. On some there was marked progress. The Greek situation showed continued improvement, and the problem of the former Italian colonies was to all intents disposed of with the accomplishment in September 1952 of the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia. On others, such as the all-German elections issue, Soviet noncooperation precluded progress. In the case of still others it was impossible clearly to foresee by the end of the year the ultimate outcome of the United Nations efforts.

Austrian Treaty Question

Seven years after World War II Austria is still occupied by Soviet, French, British, and United States troops. This is despite the Moscow Declaration of November 1943 in which the occupying powers declared that "Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination" and expressed their wish "to see reestablished a free and independent Austria." Six years of negotiations on a state treaty restoring Austria's independence had, by January 1952, reached a deadlock so complete that the Soviet representative refused an invitation to attend a meeting of the Austrian Treaty Deputies unless certain conditions wholly extraneous to the Austrian treaty were fulfilled by the Three Western Powers. On March 13, 1952, the Western Powers proposed, as an alternative to the long draft treaty upon which negotiations had thus far been unsuccessful, a simple, abbreviated text containing the minimum essentials for the restoration of Austria's independence. Upon the Soviet Union's failure, despite subsequent

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reminders, even to reply to the March 13 proposal, the Austrian Government in July 1952 circulated a memorandum to members of the United Nations indicating its intention, if the deadlock continued, to bring the question before the United Nations "to appeal for their mediation to induce the four occupying powers to evacuate Austria at last and to restore the freedom that is due her."

On August 14, shortly after the circulation of this memorandum by the Austrian Government, the Soviet Union belatedly replied to the latest of the long series of notes, rejecting the Western proposal of an abbreviated treaty on the grounds that it failed to provide for free elections, to guarantee human rights and basic freedoms, to eliminate nazism, and to provide for an Austrian army.

In their reply of September 5, 1952, the Three Western Powers proposed that agreed articles relating to these points taken from the long draft be added to the abbreviated treaty and that a meeting of the deputies be held in London on September 29 to initial the abbreviated treaty as thus amended. Instead of attending this meeting, the U. S. S. R. addressed a note to the Western Powers on September 27 reiterating its demand for the withdrawal of the abbreviated text and reasserting extraneous conditions for renewed negotiations on the long draft treaty.

In light of the continued Soviet refusal to resume negotiations, Brazil on August 29, 1952, acting upon the suggestion contained in the Austrian memorandum, requested the inclusion on the seventh General Assembly agenda of the "Question of an Appeal to the Powers Signatories to the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943, for an Early Fulfillment of Their Pledges Toward Austria."

GENERAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSION

At the outset of Committee consideration on December 17, the representatives of the Soviet bloc claimed that in accordance with article 107 of the Charter, the General Assembly was not legally entitled to consider this subject; consequently they would not participate in the discussion or voting and would not recognize the validity of any resolution that might emerge from the Assembly's consideration of the question. Article 107 states that nothing in the Charter shall invalidate or preclude action taken as a result of the Second World War by the governments having responsibility for such action. It was pointed out by a number of delegations, including those of Greece, India, and the United States, that this provision was not applicable to the Austrian treaty question since none of the occupying powers had been at war with Austria and since the article did not bar consideration of any differences between members of the

United Nations that might impair friendly relations among nations.

The Foreign Minister of Austria, Franz Gruber, was invited by the Political Committee to participate in the debates on the item. Dr. Gruber outlined the burdens, both economic and political, that the prolonged occupation had imposed upon Austria. The Austrian people, he said, wanted a prompt treaty, the obligations of which would take into account their capabilities, and above all a treaty that would be implemented most rapidly.

In the course of the debate Ambassador Cohen, representing the United States, took the opportunity to outline the efforts of the Western Powers to conclude a state treaty that would bring to an end the occupation of Austria. At the same time he emphasized that Austria's independence cannot be restored by transferring Austria from the tentacles of one tyranny to those of another.

Tracing the history of unsuccessful negotiations with the Soviet Union on an Austrian state treaty, the United States representative indicated how, through 376 quadripartite meetings (33 held in the Council of Foreign Ministers, 85 in the Austrian Treaty Commission, and 285 by the Austrian Treaty Deputies), the Soviet Union had insisted upon terms that were not calculated to safeguard the sovereign independence of Austria but to perpetuate Austrian dependency upon the Soviet Union even after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Mr. Cohen described how the Soviet Union in its zone in Eastern Austria had seized, under the claim of German external assets, hundreds of properties. This action of the Soviet Union, based upon its own unilateral and wholly unwarranted interpretation of the Potsdam Agreement, has cost Austria over $700,000,000 in the use of the properties which include oil fields, shipping facilities, 300 industrial enterprises, and over 200,000 acres of farm lands and forests. The properties have been administered by Soviet corporations which have claimed exemption from taxes, customs duties, and other laws of the land. In the summer of 1949, the United States representative explained, far-reaching concessions were made by the Western Powers to the Soviet Union with the understanding that a compromise agreement had been reached on the principal points standing in the way of the treaty. But no sooner was tentative agreement reached on these points than the Soviet Union insisted on new and entirely extraneous conditions for the conclusion of a treaty. One of these, for example, was a demand for the implementation of Italian treaty provisions regarding Trieste.

Referring finally to the Soviet rejection of the latest Western proposal for an abbreviated treaty, the United States representative declared that the United States was willing to meet with representatives of the Soviet Union again and again to discuss and conclude a treaty

and urged that the General Assembly place the moral weight of the United Nations behind the effort to secure a just settlement of this issue.

In the debate the representative of the United Kingdom described in detail the history of the treaty negotiations from the viewpoint of the Western Powers. Representatives of more than 25 countries indicated the concern of their governments for the prompt restoration of full independence to Austria.

On December 19 the Committee adopted, and on December 20 the General Assembly in plenary session approved, by a vote of 48 to 0, with 2 abstentions, a resolution submitted by Brazil, Lebanon, Mexico, and the Netherlands addressing an earnest appeal to the governments concerned to make a renewed and urgent effort to reach agreement on the terms of an Austrian treaty, with a view to an early termination of the occupation of Austria and the full exercise by Austria of the powers inherent in her sovereignty.

Germany

The General Assembly at its sixth session in 1951 established a United Nations Commission to carry out a *simultaneous* investigation in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Berlin, and in the Soviet Zone of Germany to ascertain whether conditions in these areas are such as to make possible the holding of genuinely free and secret elections and to recommend steps to bring about such conditions. Since 1945 the U.S.S.R. had persistently obstructed all efforts to reach a satisfactory German peace settlement which would permit the establishment of a unified, democratic Germany. The United States, France, and the United Kingdom had therefore, at the request of the Federal Republic of Germany, brought the problem of German reunification before the Assembly. In doing so they pointed out that their repeated proposals to accomplish reunification through free, all-German elections had consistently been rejected or ignored by the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Zone authorities. The U.S.S.R. opposed the Assembly's action in establishing the Commission on the grounds that the United Nations lacks competence in this question; and Poland, which was named to the Commission together with Brazil, Iceland, the Netherlands, and Pakistan, declined to serve on the same grounds.

In February 1952 from its headquarters in Geneva, the Commission addressed letters to the authorities in the Federal Republic, in Berlin, and in the Soviet Zone requesting an opportunity to discuss the arrangements that the Commission considered necessary to enable it to undertake its work. Upon receipt of favorable responses

from the Federal Republic and West Berlin, and despite the failure of the East Zone to reply, the Commission made a trip to Germany, remaining there from March 16 to 23, 1952. During this period it was able to conclude satisfactory arrangements with all authorities concerned in the Federal Republic and the Western sector of Berlin but continued Soviet noncooperation precluded the carrying out of these arrangements, since the Commission's terms of reference called for a simultaneous investigation.

Between March and August 1952 a series of six notes concerning Germany were exchanged between the U.S.S.R. and the Three Western Powers. In these notes the Three Powers continued to urge the Soviet Union to allow the United Nations Commission to perform its task in the Soviet Zone. At the same time, however, while maintaining their preference for the United Nations Commission, the Western Powers indicated their readiness to consider, in view of the persistent Soviet refusal to cooperate with the Commission, any other practical and precise proposals for an impartial commission of investigation that the Soviet Government might wish to put forward "on the one condition that they are likely to promote the early holding of free elections throughout Germany." The U.S.S.R. did not offer any such proposals.

Having despatched four letters to officials in the Eastern Zone of Germany without receiving a reply, the Commission, in its final report submitted on August 5, 1952, concluded that the unwillingness to cooperate with the Commission displayed by the representatives of the U.S.S.R. and by the German authorities of the Soviet Zone remained undiminished. Consequently the Commission decided to adjourn *sine die*, being unable to perform its task. In doing so, however, the Commission laid stress on the fact that it would "continue to remain at the disposal of the United Nations and all the parties concerned to carry out its task during such time as the mandate entrusted to it remains in force, and at such time as it seems likely to the Commission that it can do so with a prospect of positive results."

The Commission remains in existence until the General Assembly discharges it.

Greece

During 1952 further progress was made by the Greek Government in promoting recovery and stability in those areas of northern Greece that had been ravaged by the Communist-supported Greek guerrilla rebellion during the years 1946 to 1949. Relations between Greece and Yugoslavia continued to improve on all matters of com-

mon concern. Responsive to Greek desires, however, the United Nations maintained continuing vigilance, though on a reduced scale, along the Greek-Albanian and Greek-Bulgarian frontiers. Renewed efforts were also made during 1952 to obtain the return of an estimated 25,000 Greek children held by the various Communist states of Eastern Europe since the time of the guerrilla war. Moreover Greece again asked the seventh session of the General Assembly to consider the failure of these same countries to repatriate a number of Greek military personnel, originally captured by the Greek guerrillas and taken into various countries of Eastern Europe, and this situation is on the agenda for the second part of the session.

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVATION IN NORTHERN GREECE

By its resolution of December 7, 1951, the General Assembly provided for the termination of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, which had effectively observed and reported on conditions along the northern Greek frontiers during and after the guerrilla war. At the same time, however, it provided for the creation of a Balkan Subcommission of the Peace Observation Commission, established by the General Assembly in 1950. The Assembly's action showed awareness that the threats to Greece from the Soviet-dominated states to the north (principally Albania and Bulgaria), though perhaps less immediate or pressing than in earlier years, now formed part of a larger pattern of hostility and pressure on the part of the Cominform states generally toward countries in the Balkans outside the sphere of Soviet control.

On January 23, 1952, the 14-member Peace Observation Commission, over Soviet and Czechoslovak opposition, established a Balkan Subcommission consisting of Colombia, France, Pakistan, Sweden and the United States. The same day the Greek Government requested "the immediate despatch of observers to the frontier areas of Greece," and on January 31 the subcommission acceded to this request. It called upon each of its five member governments to make available one observer for duty in northern Greece and asked the United Kingdom to provide the principal observer.

The observers, based at Salonika, have made periodic and special trips for observation and inspection to various points along the Greek-Albanian and Greek-Bulgarian frontiers. Their reports reveal few incidents along the Greek-Albanian frontier but reflect an atmosphere of continuing tension in that area. Along the Greek-Bulgarian frontier, in July and August 1952, several small-scale clashes between frontier units took place. The most disturbing of these resulted from a strong Greek reaction to the movement of Bulgarian soldiery onto

a small island (Gamma) in the Evros River, claimed by both countries though situated clearly on the Greek side of the main river channel.

The Greek Government has cooperated fully with the United Nations observers, enabling them to travel and observe at points where border friction exists or appears to threaten. Albania and Bulgaria, though sending frequent complaints to the United Nations Secretary-General of alleged border violations by Greek frontier units, have studiously ignored the existence of the Balkan Subcommission which, were they to call in good faith for its services, would be available to dispatch observers to their side of the frontiers.

No action on the Greek border situation by the General Assembly at its seventh session was called for. However, on November 16, 1952, the General Assembly reappointed, for the calendar years 1953 and 1954, the same 14 members of the Peace Observation Commission originally named in the uniting-for-peace resolution of November 3, 1950. These members are China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Iraq, Israel, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sweden, the U. S. S. R., the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay. In turn the Peace Observation Commission on December 12, 1952, continued the Balkan Subcommission in existence for 2 more years with the same five members.

GREEK CHILDREN

Among the East European countries that have been holding Greek children since the end of the guerrilla war, Yugoslavia alone has cooperated with the United Nations and the Red Cross agencies in their effort to bring about the return of these children. By the end of 1952 a total of 538 children had been returned to Greece through arrangements between the National Red Cross Societies of Greece and Yugoslavia, with the assistance of a special Swedish Red Cross mission in the latter country.

At its seventh session in the fall of 1952 the General Assembly had before it a combined report on this problem from the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of Red Cross Societies and a report from the Secretary-General. With their long and fruitless efforts in mind, the International Red Cross organizations wrote that they would "feel obliged, for the time being, to suspend their work in this direction." They added that they would, nevertheless "remain ready to resume this work if and when the United Nations or the governments concerned succeed in establishing conditions, at the governmental level, which will make practical action by the Red Cross possible and useful."

During the discussion of this problem in the Assembly's *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, many delegations joined in expressing indigna-

tion at the behavior of the Cominform states. The United States delegate, Mrs. Edith Sampson, reviewed their indefensible record on this problem, pointing out that "year after year these authorities played the same cynical game of obstruction and evasion." She reminded the members that, with the passage of time, the children were growing up in alien lands, deprived of contact with the ideals of their native country, and exposed to "intensive Communist indoctrination."

Before the Committee was a draft resolution submitted by Brazil and New Zealand. This draft condemned the behavior of the harboring states, discontinued the United Nations Standing Committee on this problem, agreed to the suspension of the work of the International Red Cross organizations (except with respect to Yugoslavia), and expressed satisfaction at the cooperative action of Yugoslavia.

In Committee the Brazilian-New Zealand draft resolution was amended by Ecuador so as to avoid having the International Red Cross bodies suspend their efforts with respect to any of the countries involved. In this amended form the resolution was adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on November 24, by a vote of 46 to 5 (Soviet bloc), with 7 abstentions. After receiving a further communication from the International Red Cross organizations dated December 2, in which those bodies firmly restated their desire to suspend their work on this problem (except in respect of Yugoslavia), the General Assembly in plenary session recast the resolution in the form originally proposed by Brazil and New Zealand. The resolution was then adopted on December 17, 1952, by a vote of 46 to 5 (Soviet bloc), with 6 abstentions.

Former Italian Colonies

With the coming into effect on September 11, 1952, of the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, the United Nations fulfilled the responsibilities concerning the disposition of the former Italian colonies—Eritrea, Libya, and Italian Somaliland—entrusted to it by the Treaty of Peace with Italy. Libya and Italian Somaliland had already emerged in the new status projected for them by General Assembly decisions of 1949. Libya achieved unity and independence on December 24, 1951, with United Nations guidance and assistance. During 1952 the United Nations continued an active program of technical assistance to this new state in the fields of agriculture, public administration, public health, education, and related activities. Somaliland became a trust territory in December 1950, with Italy as the administering power. Subsequent developments in that territory are dealt with in part III of this report, covering the functioning of the trusteeship system.

ERITREA

The General Assembly on December 2, 1950, adopted a resolution providing that Eritrea should constitute an autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian crown and that federation should be accomplished by September 15, 1952. Articles 1 to 7, inclusive, of that resolution embodied a set of basic principles defining the relationships between governmental organs of the autonomous unit of Eritrea and those of the Federation. They also contained provisions for safeguarding the observance of fundamental human rights and democratic liberties in Eritrea. These articles were to constitute the "Federal Act," which would be subject to ratification and promulgation by the Ethiopian Emperor. The Assembly appointed a United Nations Commissioner (Anze Matienzo of Bolivia) who, in consultation with the administering authority (the United Kingdom), the Government of Ethiopia, and the people of Eritrea, was to advise and assist the Eritreans in working out their constitution. During the transition period the United Kingdom was to continue to conduct the affairs of Eritrea and to help prepare the Eritreans to take their place in the Federation.

During 1951 the Commissioner in Eritrea carried out intensive preparatory work, including consultation with all sectors of Eritrean political life and with the British administering authorities and the representatives of Ethiopia. His main purposes were to enable the Eritreans to consolidate their own ideas on constitutional principles and to lay a solid basis for working out, in agreement with Ethiopia, constitutional provisions that would be in accord both with the General Assembly resolution and with the sovereign position of the Emperor of Ethiopia. The Commissioner drew extensively on the advice of a group of international law experts to aid him in the achievement of these objectives.

The principal task of the United Nations Commissioner in 1952 was to prepare a constitution for Eritrea, for consideration by an elected Eritrean Assembly. After further consultation with the Ethiopian Government and with representatives of Italy who were concerned with the future status of Italians in Eritrea, the Commissioner completed the draft constitution and submitted it to the Eritrean Assembly in May 1952. Meanwhile the British administering authorities had progressively introduced more Eritreans into the administration of that territory. The Eritrean Assembly modified and amended the Commissioner's draft and then adopted it unanimously on July 10, 1952. The Commissioner approved the constitution on August 6, 1952, and it was ratified by the Emperor of Ethiopia on August 11. It entered into force on September 11, 1952, with ratification by the Ethiopian Emperor of the Federal Act. In all

these negotiations during the constitution-making period, a central problem was that of working out an acceptable constitutional relationship between the governmental organs of the Eritrean autonomous system and the imperial federal organs, which would have authority for defense, foreign affairs, finance, and foreign and interstate commerce and communications. With the promulgation by the Emperor of the Federal Act on September 11, 1952, and the final transfer of the remaining powers exercised by the British administration, the Federation became a reality.

The basis for a settlement of the related question of the status of former Italian state and parastatal property in Eritrea had been laid by the General Assembly at its sixth session. By a resolution adopted on January 29, 1952, the Assembly determined that such property would be handed over to the proper authority in Eritrea by September 15, 1952. A United Nations Arbitral Tribunal, consisting of the members already serving on the similar tribunal previously established for Libya, was to settle disputes that might arise over disposition of former Italian property rights in Eritrea.

The General Assembly at its seventh session considered the report of the U. N. Commissioner on the discharge of his functions. It also had before it a report by the United Kingdom on its administration of Eritrea. In the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee discussion, many delegations joined in expressing satisfaction at the way in which the United Nations plan for federation had been worked out and paid tribute to the Commissioner, the Ethiopian Government, and the Eritreans in their cooperative achievement. It was recognized also that Italy, a party at interest because of the importance of the Italian community in Eritrea, had contributed to the advancement of the United Nations objectives for the area.

Speaking in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on December 11, the United States delegate, Charles A. Sprague, expressed confidence that "the practical problems of adjustment within the federal structure which will inevitably arise in the future will be dealt with in the same constructive spirit of mutual respect and loyalty to the objectives of the United Nations which has guided Ethiopia and Eritrea in establishing their new federal relationship." Mr. Sprague introduced, on behalf of 13 delegations, a draft resolution giving expression to the general sentiment of satisfaction at and appreciation of what had been accomplished. The draft resolution also took note of the Ethiopian statement expressing determination scrupulously to execute the provisions of the Federal Act. On December 12, 1952, the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee adopted the joint draft resolution without any opposition; only the Soviet bloc abstained. On December 17 the General Assembly approved the resolution by a vote of 51 in favor, none against, with 5 abstentions (Soviet bloc).

Kashmir

Throughout 1952 the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan worked with the parties to the Kashmir dispute, India and Pakistan, in an earnest effort to reach an agreed solution of this very complex problem, which has been before the Security Council since 1948. When India and Pakistan were established as independent nations in August 1947, the more than 500 princely states on the subcontinent were given the choice of joining either one or the other of the two new nations. This choice was made without difficulty in most instances on the basis of geographic proximity and the preponderance of either Hindus or Moslems in the population. The state of Jammu and Kashmir, commonly called Kashmir, is, however, contiguous to both India and Pakistan and has a mixed, though predominantly Moslem, population. Its disposition quickly came into dispute between India and Pakistan, and hostilities ensued.

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), established by the Security Council on January 20, 1948, obtained agreement to a cease-fire effective January 1, 1949, and also to principles, which have come to be known as the "UNCIP Resolutions," under which a truce and plebiscite could be arranged. Unfortunately, despite earnest efforts on the part of the Commission and its successors, Sir Owen Dixon of Australia and Frank P. Graham of the United States, little significant progress toward the implementation of these principles had been achieved by the beginning of 1952.

Dr. Graham had succeeded Sir Owen Dixon as United Nations representative for India and Pakistan in April 1951 and had been charged by the Security Council with the primary task of effecting the demilitarization of the Kashmir area so that a plebiscite could be conducted to determine the ultimate affiliation of the state. During 1951 Dr. Graham had consulted with the parties on the subcontinent and in Paris and had submitted to them a 12-point program to achieve the desired demilitarization. This program, embodied in Dr. Graham's first report of October 15, 1951, had been noted with approval by the Security Council late in 1951, but in January 1952, when the Council began debate on Dr. Graham's second report, a dangerous deadlock still existed.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PARTIES

In his second report Dr. Graham indicated that the basic differences between the parties had been reduced to two fundamental issues: (1) the minimum number of forces to be left on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the demilitarization period and (2) the date on

which India would cause the plebiscite administrator to be inducted into office. Following consideration of this report, it was the Council's consensus, with which the Pakistan representative agreed, that the United Nations representative should continue his effort and in 2 months submit another report, which the Council hoped would be final.

This debate provided the occasion for the first Soviet intervention in the Kashmir discussions, obviously designed to have an effect on the general elections then taking place in India. The Soviet representative delivered a propaganda attack against the United States and the United Kingdom, contending that they were interfering in Kashmir's internal affairs, prolonging the dispute, and trying to convert Kashmir into an Anglo-American colony to be used as a military and strategic base.

Dr. Graham returned to the subcontinent at the end of February and remained for approximately a month. During this time he continued his procedure of holding separate negotiations with the parties, having concluded that a meeting between the representatives of the two Governments was inadvisable until sufficient preliminary agreement had been reached to increase the possibility of positive results from a joint conference.

The United Nations representative's third report covering these negotiations was submitted to the Security Council on April 22, 1952. The deadlock between the parties over the nature and the number of forces that should remain at the end of the demilitarization period continued. Pakistan had accepted Dr. Graham's demilitarization program, subject to certain qualifications regarding the character of the forces to remain at the end of the demilitarization period, but India was unable to accept his proposals on the nature and number of forces to remain at the end of the period. India had indicated, however, that, provided agreement could be reached on this matter, a definite period for demilitarization and a date for induction into office of the plebiscite administrator could be settled without difficulty.

Dr. Graham therefore suggested that he continue his negotiations with the parties, and with their agreement negotiations were resumed on May 29 in New York and then at a ministerial level in Geneva during the latter part of August and the first part of September.

Concentrating on the matter of the number of forces to remain at the end of the demilitarization period, the United Nations representative proposed on July 16 that the armed forces to remain on the Indian side of the cease-fire line be determined at a figure between 12,000 and 18,000 and that the forces on the Pakistan side be determined at a figure between 3,000 and 6,000. Unable to obtain agreement on this suggestion, Dr. Graham next proposed the figures of

6,000 on the Pakistan side and 18,000 on the Indian side of the cease-fire line. Pakistan accepted these figures with some reservations; India did not. The United Nations representative thereupon decided that he could not obtain agreement on fixed figures and, accordingly, on September 4 suggested to the parties that it might be possible for them to agree on certain principles that could serve as criteria for fixing the number of forces on either side of the cease-fire line. The exact number of forces would be fixed by a conference of the parties to be held after acceptance of the principles. Dr. Graham proposed that these principles should state that, on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line, "at the end of the period of demilitarization there shall be the minimum number of forces that are required for the maintenance of law and order and of the cease-fire agreement with due regard to the freedom of the plebiscite." On the Indian side of the cease-fire line, there should be at the end of the period of demilitarization "the minimum number of Indian forces and state armed forces that are required for the maintenance of law and order and the cease-fire agreement with due regard to the security of the state and the freedom of the plebiscite."

Dr. Graham's fourth report was submitted to the Security Council on September 16, 1952. India, he reported, considered that these proposals were conceived in the right spirit, having regard to the two UNCIP resolutions, and that they contained the germs of settlement. However, India maintained that it could not accept any equation of its responsibilities with those of Pakistan on their respective sides of the cease-fire line and insisted that the defense of the entire state was the concern of India. The Pakistanis objected to Dr. Graham's proposals on the ground that while certain guiding principles for determining the number and character of forces were desirable, the precise wording suggested by the United Nations representative was objectionable in that, if made subject for discussion at the proposed special conference, recurrence of political controversies could not be avoided. Dr. Graham, therefore, concluded that agreement could not be reached on the vital point of the nature and number of forces. He attributed the differences in the positions of India and Pakistan to their divergent conceptions of their rights and status in Kashmir.

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION

The Security Council began consideration of this report on October 10, and on November 5 the United States joined the United Kingdom in sponsoring a resolution urging India and Pakistan "to enter into

direct negotiations in order to reach agreement on the specific number of forces to remain on each side of the cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarization." This number was to be between 3,000 and 6,000 on the Pakistan side and between 12,000 and 18,000 on the Indian side. Specific numbers would be arrived at, bearing in mind the principles to serve as criteria contained in the United Nations representative's proposals of September 4. The resolution requested India and Pakistan to report to the Security Council not later than 30 days from the date of the resolution's adoption and asked Dr. Graham to continue to keep the Security Council informed of any progress. In discussing the resolution, the United States representative took occasion to cite the principles that the United States believed should govern the Kashmir negotiations:

> In the first place, a lasting political settlement must be an agreed settlement. Secondly, the Security Council will always welcome agreement of the parties which they themselves can reach on any theory that will settle the dispute which is consistent with the principles of the Charter. Thirdly, it is the role of the Security Council to assist the parties in seeking to reach agreement. In this case the Security Council has made available the services of Dr. Frank P. Graham as United Nations Representative. Fourthly, agreement most frequently is reached step by step through negotiation, and negotiation involves an element of compromise. Finally, the Security Council should consider with care the views and the recommendations of its Representative and indicate to him and the parties its views on the positions he has taken.

He concluded by pointing out that the United States would welcome agreement between the parties on any just basis and reemphasized the United Nations representative's concern over the harm to the subcontinent of continued failure to settle the Kashmir case.

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the Indian representative, on behalf of her Government, rejected the proposals contained in the draft resolution but indicated that India was prepared to continue to negotiate with Dr. Graham, although not in the context of the proposed resolution. The Pakistan representative indicated that his Government was willing to continue negotiations under the jointly sponsored resolution but preferred that future conversations occur under Dr. Graham's auspices, rather than that direct negotiations take place at the initiative of the parties. On December 23, after another intervention by the Soviet representative reiterating the propaganda line followed early in the year on this case and after amendments to provide for negotiations under Dr. Graham's auspices, leaving open the place for the negotiations, the resolution was adopted by the Security Council. The vote was 9 in favor, none against, and 1 abstention, with Pakistan not participating in the vote since it was a party to the dispute.

North African Protectorates

The relations between France and its North African protectorates, Tunisia and the French Zone of Morocco, gave rise to two new items on the agenda for the seventh session of the General Assembly. Growing nationalism in the two non-self-governing countries had produced serious tensions, and Assembly consideration of these tensions had been foreshadowed by earlier efforts on the part of Arab-Asian states to bring the situation in Morocco to the attention of the sixth session of the General Assembly and to raise the Tunisian problem in either the Security Council or the Assembly. In addition a second aspect of Franco-Moroccan relations was dealt with by another principal organ of the United Nations during 1952. On August 27 the International Court of Justice handed down its decision in a case brought by France against the United States relating to the extent of United States treaty rights in Morocco. This case is considered in detail in that section of this report dealing with the International Court of Justice.

TUNISIA

By virtue of the Bardo and La Marsa treaties concluded in 1881 and 1883, respectively, between the French Republic and the Bey of Tunis, Tunisia, previously under Turkish suzerainty, became a French protectorate. While Tunisia retained its identity as a state, France was given the right to exercise authority in the field of foreign affairs and security, and provision was made for institution by the Bey of such reforms as France should deem desirable in administrative, judicial, and financial fields. In accordance with article 73 (e) of the United Nations Charter (relating to non-self-governing territories), France has regularly reported to the United Nations on economic, social, and educational conditions in Tunisia.

During 1950 the Governments of France and Tunisia entered upon negotiations looking toward reforms that would advance Tunisia along the road to self-government. The course of these negotiations fluctuated during the latter part of 1950 and the first part of 1951, with the Tunisian Cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Mohamed Chenik, indicating dissatisfaction at the extent of the reforms contemplated by France. Subsequently renewed efforts were made, but again the French proposals failed to satisfy the Tunisian nationalist leaders, who then attempted to bring their differences with France to the attention of the Security Council in January 1952. The situation was attended by serious disorders and demonstrations in Tunisia, and France insisted on a change in the Tunisian Cabinet. There-

after efforts were made to resume the negotiations with a new Cabinet.

On April 2, 1952, a group of Arab-Asian states (Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen) asked that the Tunisian situation be brought before the Security Council. Moreover Ethiopia, Lebanon, Liberia, and Syria expressed their support for Security Council consideration of this matter through Chile, a member of the Council. Three meetings of the Council were devoted to discussion of whether to place the problem on the agenda. France vigorously asserted that its differences with the Tunisians could not properly be termed an international "dispute" within the meaning of the Charter; that, in any case, the Tunisian problem lay essentially within the sphere of French "domestic jurisdiction"; and that United Nations intervention was therefore precluded. The United States took the position that, since efforts toward the resumption of the Franco-Tunisian negotiations were still in progress, the Security Council could best help to foster agreement between the parties by refraining from interference. The proposal that the Security Council consider the Tunisian problem failed to obtain the necessary 7 affirmative votes; there were 5 votes in favor, 2 against, and 4 abstentions—including the United States. However, the United States made it clear that, if after further efforts at direct negotiation between France and Tunisia the problem should once again come before the United Nations, it would reassess the situation in the light of developments.

In June 1952, 13 Arab-Asian states requested that a special session of the General Assembly be called to consider the Tunisian problem, but this move also failed to obtain the necessary majority approval, only 23 member states favoring a special session.

General Assembly Consideration

On July 30, 1952, the same 13 Arab-Asian states proposed the item for the provisional agenda of the seventh General Assembly session. In their explanatory memorandum these states reviewed the background of Franco-Tunisian relationships, pointed to the continuing tension in Tunisia, and urged Assembly action to help achieve a "just and peaceful settlement." On October 16 the Assembly, despite known French objections, decided to include the item on its agenda. The United States—holding that the situation fell within the sphere of the General Assembly's competence, quite apart from the question of what sort of Assembly action would be helpful and constructive—supported the decision to have the problem discussed.

In his plenary session address on November 10 the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, reviewed the economic and social prog-

ress in Tunisia, for which France felt entitled to some credit as a result of her administration of Tunisian affairs. He said that France intended "to guide the peoples for whom she has assumed responsibility toward freedom to govern themselves and toward the democratic administration of their own affairs." He argued, however, that United Nations discussion of the Tunisian (and Moroccan) problems would only increase agitation and instability in the area and warned that, since France felt the matter lay outside the General Assembly's competence, its delegation would not be able to take part in any discussion that might follow. Mr. Schuman affirmed French recognition of the obligation to report to the United Nations on economic and social conditions in these non-self-governing areas pursuant to the Charter.

Early in December the Assembly's Political Committee began discussion of the problem, the French delegation absenting itself from this discussion. At the outset the 13 Arab-Asian delegations (Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen) jointly proposed a draft resolution implying criticism of French conduct in Tunisia and recommending the establishment of a United Nations Good Offices Commission to arrange and assist the parties in further negotiations.

A milder and somewhat more conciliatory draft resolution was then introduced by Brazil on behalf of 11 Latin American delegations (Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Nicaragua, Uruguay, and Venezuela). It expressed confidence that France would endeavor to further the effective development of the free institutions of the Tunisian people, that the parties would continue negotiations "on an urgent basis" to promote self-government for the Tunisians, and appealed to them to be guided by the spirit of the Charter and to refrain from acts likely to aggravate tension.

In the ensuing debate Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, the United States delegate, pointed out that his Government recognized the existing treaty relationship between France and Tunisia and that it also supported the "evolutionary development" of their relationship. He pleaded for moderation so that the Assembly might "create an atmosphere favorable to settlements which accord with Charter principles but which should be worked out by the parties directly concerned." Expressing confidence in the peoples and Governments of France and Tunisia and in their ability together to navigate the "stream of freedom," he urged that they "move forward on the peaceful path to progress in mutual confidence and restraint." He concluded by announcing United States support for the joint Latin American draft resolution which seemed "to speak in that spirit and to carry that message."

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Pakistan made the additional proposal to the Committee that France be requested to reconsider its decision against participation in the discussion and that the Bey of Tunis be invited to appoint a representative to participate without vote in the Committee debate. The United States abstained from voting on the section pertaining to France's nonparticipation and voted against the section pertaining to the Bey. Mr. Jessup stated his belief that the Assembly already had available sufficient information on the Tunisian situation for purposes of creating a favorable atmosphere in which direct negotiations could proceed. In separate votes on the two portions of the Pakistan proposal, the Committee first approved the section pertaining to French participation (19 to 16, with 22 abstentions) and then rejected the proposed invitation to the Bey (26 to 24, with 7 abstentions). Subsequently the resolution, minus the second portion, was rejected by a vote of 21 to 2, with 34 abstentions.

The Political Committee's discussion of the Tunisian question extended from December 4 to December 12. The representative of Pakistan, Sir Zafrullah Khan, made the most comprehensive statement, expressing the impatience and dissatisfaction of the Arab-Asian countries at the slow rate and extent of progress being made toward the achievement of self-government for Tunisia, and statements in support of this view were made by a number of Arab and Asian delegations. Soviet-bloc spokesmen sought to exploit the differences of opinion among other members by adopting their familiar pose of being the true champions of self-determination and freedom for dependent peoples. The Soviet and satellite delegations also indulged in their usual charges that France and the Western Powers, especially the United States, sought to use the North African territories for aggressive, imperialistic purposes. A group of Latin American states, with Brazilian leadership, appealed for moderation and calm in dealing with this delicate problem. During the debate the news of the assassination of Ferhat Hached, a Tunisian nationalist labor leader who fell at the hands of an unknown assailant, elicited expressions of regret and concern from a number of delegations.

On December 12 the Committee was ready to vote on the two draft resolutions. It rejected the Arab-Asian draft as a whole by a vote of 27 against, 24 in favor, with 7 abstentions. Thereafter the Committee voted on the joint Latin American draft and on an Indian amendment to it, which sought deletion of the passage expressing confidence that France, in pursuance of its proclaimed policies, would endeavor to further the development of free institutions in Tunisia, and further sought to give the General Assembly President a role in connection with Franco-Tunisian negotiations. All parts of the joint Latin American draft received substantial majority approval, while

the Indian amendment was rejected. The Committee then adopted the resolution by a vote of 45 to 3, with 10 abstentions, the United States voting affirmatively. On December 17, 1952, the General Assembly itself approved the Latin American resolution, with 44 voting in favor, 3 against, and 8 abstentions. Among the favorable votes were those of the Arab-Asian states who had brought the matter before the United Nations.

MOROCCO

Morocco is a state under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco and consists of three zones, the French Zone, the Spanish Zone, and the International Zone (Tangier). Under the Treaty of Fez, entered into in 1912 between France and Morocco, France acquired a protectorate over the whole of Morocco. A small Spanish Zone was created by a bilateral agreement between France and Spain in the same year, while the International Zone was formally established by the Tangier Statute of 1923. Morocco is a non-self-governing territory, with respect to which France has recognized its United Nations Charter obligations as a protecting power.

In October 1951 the Egyptian Foreign Minister requested the General Assembly to consider at its sixth session in Paris the tensions between France and Morocco arising from the growing nationalist sentiment in the French Zone of the latter country. Despite the opposition of the Arab States and the Soviet bloc, the General Assembly decided on December 13, 1951, to postpone "for the time being" consideration of the question of placing the item on its agenda—a decision supported by the United States.

During 1952 tension continued in Morocco, with periodic incidents and riots in the French Zone in December and in the International Zone in March. Also during the year an inconclusive exchange of notes took place between the Sultan and the French Government. The Sultan renewed his demands for reforms involving the establishment of a provisional government responsible to himself to negotiate with France a revision of the Treaty of Fez. In its reply the French Government rejected the proposal for a revision of its treaty relationship with Morocco and adhered to its own earlier proposals, which were more limited in nature.

Action of the Seventh General Assembly

On September 3, 1952, shortly after 13 Arab-Asian states requested that the General Assembly consider the Tunisian question, the same 13 states proposed that the problem of Morocco be placed on the agenda

of the seventh session of the General Assembly. In their explanatory memorandum these states described the Moroccan situation as one constituting a threat to peace. While fully reserving its position on all the substantive aspects of the problem, the United States (as in the Tunisian case) supported the Assembly's competence to discuss the problem and therefore voted in favor of including the item on the agenda, its inclusion being approved by the General Assembly on October 16.

France's Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, in his plenary session address on November 10, reviewed the French accomplishments in Morocco and reaffirmed France's Charter obligations toward that country. However, as in the Tunisian case, he denied the Assembly's competence to discuss the matter, stating that France would not participate in the subsequent debate.

The debate on Morocco in the Political Committee followed immediately after consideration of the Tunisian case and brought out many of the same lines of argument. Arab and Asian spokesmen decried what they termed French attempts to exercise "co-sovereignty" with Morocco and held that legitimate French interests could be reconciled with the right of self-determination for the Moroccans. Soviet-bloc spokesmen, as during the Tunisian discussion, leveled propagandistic attacks against France and the Western world generally. Again a Latin American group urged moderation both in debate and in Assembly action.

Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, the United States representative, remarked that there were significant differences between the Moroccan and Tunisian problems. All were agreed that it would be "most beneficial to Tunisia, to Morocco, to France and world peace," if there were "a situation in which these two Protectorates progress steadily towards the fulfillment of their national aspirations." He again urged moderation and added that the Moroccan problem was more complex than the Tunisian case, and its solution required "very high statesmanship." He referred to the Franco-Moroccan Treaty of 1912 as one dedicated "not to the freezing of the status quo but to continuous, progressive change through the development of free and vital national institutions." He concluded by appealing for faith in the peoples and Governments of France and Morocco in working out their destinies together.

Two draft resolutions were placed before the Committee. That sponsored by the 13 Arab-Asian states was milder than their earlier proposal in respect to Tunisia. After paraphrasing certain portions of the International Court of Justice decision concerning the interpretation of the treaties governing relations between France and Morocco, it urged, *inter alia*, that France and the Sultan of Morocco enter into

negotiations for an early, peaceful settlement "in accordance with the sovereignty of Morocco, the aspirations of her people and the Charter of the United Nations." While the United States recognized the soundness of portions of this draft resolution, nevertheless it did not appear to be a properly balanced resolution nor to constitute the most constructive and helpful approach to the problem.

The joint resolution sponsored by 11 Latin American states contained paragraphs (1) expressing confidence that France, in accordance with her proclaimed policies, would endeavor to further the "fundamental liberties" of the Moroccan people; (2) expressing hope that the parties would continue negotiations on an urgent basis "towards developing the free political institutions of the people of Morocco, with due regard to legitimate rights and interests under the established norms and practices of nations"; and (3) appealing to the parties to conduct their relations in an atmosphere of good will and to refrain from acts likely to aggravate the present tension.

On December 17 the Political Committee voted on the two draft resolutions and on a Pakistan amendment to the Latin American draft. This amendment proposed that one of the paragraphs of the Latin American draft, which spoke of negotiations to develop "free political institutions" for Morocco and of safeguards for legitimate rights and interests under international law, be replaced by a clause referring to negotiations "with a view to bringing about self-government for Moroccans in the light of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations."

The Committee in separate votes rejected each of the operative paragraphs of the Arab-Asian resolution. The Pakistan amendment to the Latin American draft was approved by a vote of 28 to 23, with 4 abstentions. Thereafter the Latin American draft, as amended, was approved in Committee by a vote of 40 in favor, 5 against, with 11 abstentions. The United States voted against the Arab-Asian draft resolution and against the Pakistan amendment, which, as Ambassador Jessup stated, did not appear suitable to the Moroccan situation though it resembled a similar paragraph incorporated in the resolution on Tunisia. While the United States had supported the Latin American draft in its original form, as a result of the Pakistan amendment, it voted against the amended resolution adopted by the Committee.

When the Committee-approved draft was taken up in plenary session on December 19, the 11 Latin American cosponsors resubmitted the language of their original draft as a substitute for the paragraph that had been amended by Pakistan. After Assembly approval of the restoration of the original language, the United States voted for the resolution thus reamended, which was adopted by a vote of 45 to 3, with 11 abstentions.

Though the Moroccan debate had been spirited, it was evident, after the earlier Tunisian debate, that in many respects the issues in the two discussions were similar. Consequently the differences on appropriate General Assembly action were easier to bridge. As indicated by the vote, the resolution ultimately adopted was acceptable to most United Nations members.

Palestine

During 1952 the United Nations continued its efforts to settle the Palestine question by considering and attempting to resolve the various differences existing between Israel and the surrounding Arab States. Although the United Nations had succeeded in bringing hostilities between Israel and these States to an end in 1949 with a series of armistice agreements, subsequent efforts to bring a peaceful settlement to the area had made little headway. Throughout 1952 the continuing deadlock kept the area in an uneasy state, but the threat of further outbreaks of violence, which had punctuated the course of the dispute in 1951, was substantially lessened, and at the end of 1952 the following achievements could be reported as a result of the United Nations role in the dispute:

1. The Palestine Conciliation Commission, as a result of negotiations with the Government of Israel, effected the release of Arab accounts which had been blocked in Israeli banks as a result of hostilities in 1948.

2. For the first time since their establishment, the various bilateral Mixed Armistice Commissions, which were set up under the several armistice agreements between the Arab States and Israel to handle differences between the parties arising under the agreements, disposed of the disputes submitted to them in such a manner that no complaints were brought to the Security Council.

EFFORTS TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

The Palestine Conciliation Commission during 1952 undertook an approach different from that of previous years in seeking the political settlement of the Palestine question. In the years prior to 1952 the Commission had sought to encourage negotiations between Israel and the Arab States on as many of their differences as possible. This approach had proved unsuccessful. By its resolution of January 26, 1952, therefore, the General Assembly determined that the Commission, instead of exercising initiative on a broad front, should put itself at the disposal of the parties and, in effect, markedly limit its role in the settlement of the Palestine problem.

It was the view of the United States, as a member of the Commission, and of a number of other states interested in the Palestine problem that progress toward an overall settlement between Israel and the Arab States could be made only at the volition of the parties concerned. However, the Commission could undertake certain valuable, but limited, negotiations with the parties to work out some outstanding differences of a technical nature. It was the United States hope that the parties could be encouraged through such efforts as these to broaden the basis for fruitful political negotiations. One of these differences was the problem of the Arab accounts blocked in Israeli banks. The Commission had in its early negotiations sought to effect the release of these accounts in the belief that the release would have a beneficial effect in advancing negotiations for an overall political settlement. These earlier negotiations had failed.

In 1952, however, the Commission succeeded. It determined at its meeting on April 21 that it would resume discussions with the delegation of Israel on the matter; and, for this purpose, it designated Ambassador Ely E. Palmer, United States representative on the Commission, to undertake the negotiations with the Israeli representatives. These negotiations took place, and on June 2, 1952, Israel informed the United States that it was prepared to discuss measures for the gradual release of accounts held by Arab refugees in Israel, subject to its overall foreign exchange position. Israel also suggested that its acceptance in principle of the representations made on behalf of the Commission be followed by discussions of specific arrangements between the Commission and the Israeli delegation to the United Nations. This information was transmitted to the Palestine Conciliation Commission.

The Commission welcomed the position taken by Israel. In the negotiations with the Israeli delegation, it was made clear that Israel's decision was unconditional with respect to the release of the accounts and that the question of the means and methods of their release was to be determined by Israel and the banks concerned. The Commission held, and Israel agreed, that the best method of implementing this decision would be a normal bank transaction whereby all the blocked accounts would be released by an Israeli governmental order, and the banks in Israel would be enabled to transfer in stages the value of these accounts to corresponding banks in the Arab States, accessible to the legitimate owners of the accounts. It was determined that the accounts would be paid at the rate of 1 Israeli pound equaling 1 sterling pound ($2.80). It was further decided that the actual transfer of funds would be carried out in stages and that so far as possible the greatest number of refugees possible would be put in possession of their assets in the first installment of 1 million Israeli

pounds (approximately $2,800,000). This meant that the smallest accounts would receive priority for release.

Negotiations between Barclay's Bank and the Israeli representatives, which occurred between October 20 and November 2, were attended by an economic expert of the Commission and resulted in a general agreement under which the steps suggested by the Commission were to be carried out.

Aside from its work on the Arab blocked accounts, the Commission undertook negotiations with Israeli authorities in connection with the assessment and payment of compensation to the Arab refugees for their property on Israel-held territory. The Commission decided that the development of estimates of potential individual claims should be started without delay. In the Commission's opinion this process involved identifying and evaluating individual Arab property holdings by an examination of the land registers of the former mandatory authority, the rural tax distribution lists, and the urban field evaluation sheets prepared by the mandatory authority and presently in the hands of the Government of Israel. The United Kingdom furnished microfilms of certain of these documents, and Israel had, by the end of the year, offered to make certain tax records available to the Commission in its consideration of compensation and claims.

THE PALESTINE DEBATE AT THE SEVENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Palestine question was again debated at the seventh session of the General Assembly as a result of the request by the six Arab States for the inclusion on the provisional agenda of the following item: "The Conciliation Commission for Palestine and its work in the light of the resolutions of the United Nations." The explanatory memorandum accompanying this request held that the Palestine question was the responsibility of the United Nations and that its various resolutions relevant to the question had not been implemented. These resolutions included the resolution of November 29, 1947, containing the partition plan which had led to the creation of the State of Israel, and subsequent resolutions relating to the rights of refugees to be repatriated to their homes in Israel-held territory. The agenda item was referred to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee for consideration, and debate on it began November 23.

The Committee had before it two principal resolutions. The first, submitted by eight "neutral" governments, called upon the parties to desist from any future acts of hostility; reaffirmed the principle that the governments concerned had the primary responsibility for reaching a settlement of their outstanding differences; and, with

that in view, urged the governments concerned to enter, at an early date, into direct negotiations for the establishment of such a settlement; and, finally, requested the Conciliation Commission to be available for that purpose if so desired. The second resolution, sponsored by Afghanistan, Indonesia, Iran, and Pakistan, reaffirmed the General Assembly resolution of January 26, 1952; requested the Commission to continue its efforts to fulfill the task entrusted to it under General Assembly resolutions; decided that the headquarters of this Commission should be located in Jerusalem; further decided to increase its membership to five; and requested that the Commission report to the eighth session of the General Assembly.

The eight-power resolution was subject to numerous revisions and amendments in an effort by various other United Nations members to produce a resolution generally satisfactory to both Israel and the Arab States. Debate centered around the obligation set forth in the eight-power resolution that the parties undertake direct negotiations. The representatives of the Arab States vigorously held that any direct negotiations between themselves and Israel must be based on the implementation of previous General Assembly resolutions. Israel, for its part, urged that the direct negotiations be as unfettered as possible and not bound by the requirements of previous resolutions, such requirements in a number of cases having been overcome by the events since their adoption.

The role of the United States in the Committee debate was different from that in previous years in that the United States, while supporting direct negotiations between the parties, did not take any active lead in the debate and did not sponsor a resolution.

The debate was concluded on December 11, 1952, with a vote on the eight-power resolution as revised and on the four-power resolution. The four-power resolution was rejected by a vote of 27 against, 14 in favor, and 13 abstentions. The eight-power resolution was adopted as a whole by a vote of 32 for, 13 against, and 13 abstentions. The United States voted for the resolution as a whole. The Soviet bloc abstained.

Plenary debate on the *Ad Hoc* Committee's approved resolution occurred on December 18. As this resolution was presented to the plenary meeting, its provisions recalled the primary duties of all members of the United Nations to seek a settlement of their disputes, recalled the existing resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council on the Palestine question, and recalled especially those resolutions calling upon the parties to achieve at an early date a final settlement of their outstanding differences. After taking note of the Conciliation Commission's report, the draft resolution (1) expressed appreciation to the Commission for its efforts; (2) called

upon the parties to refrain from acts of hostility against each other; (3) reaffirmed the principle that the governments concerned had the primary responsibility for reaching a settlement of their outstanding differences; (4) urged the governments concerned "to enter at an early date, without prejudice to their respective rights and claims, into direct negotiations for the establishment of such a settlement, bearing in mind the resolutions as well as the principal objectives of the United Nations on the Palestine question, including the religious interests of third parties;" and (5) requested the Conciliation Commission to continue its efforts to fulfill the tasks entrusted to it and to be available to assist the parties.

When debate commenced the plenary session had before it an amendment to the operative paragraph quoted above, submitted by the Philippine delegation. This amendment read as follows:

> 4. *Urges* the Governments concerned to enter at an early date, without prejudice to their respective rights and claims, into direct negotiations for the establishment of such a settlement, on the basis of the resolutions as well as the principal objectives of the United Nations on the Palestine question, including the religious interests of third parties, and, in particular, the principle of the internationalization of Jerusalem.

The Philippine representative stated in the plenary session that his delegation had "one aim" in proposing the amendment: "to make certain that the resolutions and objectives of the United Nations as regards the Palestine question are maintained in their integrity and form the basis of direct negotiations leading to a peaceful settlement between the parties." Pointing out that the internationalization of Jerusalem is one of these objectives, embodied in a General Assembly resolution, he said that the Philippine amendment had been presented "in response to the powerful sentiments which have been evoked in the people of my country by the cloud of uncertainty which seems gradually to have descended upon the problem of the future status of Jerusalem."

The United States representative took the position that the language of the resolution, as approved by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, satisfactorily assured that the parties in undertaking direct negotiations would not be abandoning what they considered to be their legitimate rights nor would they be casting aside the previous resolutions of the General Assembly. The United States held that the most fruitful negotiations would be those that would be direct and unconditional but that the United States was prepared to accept any amendment that succeeded in securing unanimity in support of the resolution. However, the Philippine amendment would not contribute to the achieving of such unanimity nor the initiating of the direct negotiations. As for the specific reference to a provision relating to the internationaliza-

tion of Jerusalem, the United States representative pointed out that, while the parties in negotiation might facilitate a settlement of the question of Jerusalem, the internationalization of Jerusalem was an international task and not a task to be confined solely to the negotiations of the parties. The United States voted against the Philippine amendment, which was defeated, but when the voting occurred on the eight-power resolution, a number of countries that had supported the resolution in committee abstained because of the defeat of the Philippine amendment. The United States voted for the resolution, but it failed to carry by the necessary two-thirds majority. There were 23 votes for the resolution, 21 against, and 15 abstentions.

Of significance in this vote was the fact that, whereas the Soviet bloc had abstained in voting on the resolution in the *Ad Hoc* Committee, it voted against the resolution in the plenary session. The switch of these 5 votes, therefore, even if voting alignment had otherwise remained the same in plenary session as it had in the *Ad Hoc* Committee, would have been sufficient to defeat the resolution calling for direct negotiations. The General Assembly thus concluded debate on the Palestine question at its seventh session without adopting a resolution on the subject. A counter complaint, submitted as an agenda item by Israel, charging the Arab States with threats to the peace of the Palestine area and with violations of the general armistice agreements, was not debated. Following the debate and vote on the Arab item, Israel requested that its item not be considered since much of its substance had already been discussed.

Union of South Africa

The General Assembly at its seventh session had two items on its agenda induced by South African racial policies. One, an Indian complaint concerning the discriminatory treatment of some 250,000 nationals of the Union of South Africa of Indian origin, had been considered by the General Assembly in 1946, 1947, 1949, 1950, and 1951–52 without a settlement being reached. The other was a new question brought before the United Nations by 13 Arab-Asian states and concerned the broader problem of race conflict in the Union.

TREATMENT OF INDIANS

India contends that the Union of South Africa deprives persons of Indian origin resident in the Union of fundamental human rights and that the situation is deteriorating as a result of South African enforcement of laws imposing measures of racial segregation in vio-

lation of the United Nations Charter. On the other hand the Union of South Africa argues that this matter falls strictly within its domestic jurisdiction and that the Assembly, in view of the prohibition of article 2 (7) of the Charter, cannot concern itself with the case in any way. Nevertheless South Africa has emphasized its willingness to engage in direct negotiations with India and Pakistan at a Round Table Conference, as agreed at Capetown in February 1950. India and Pakistan, however, maintain that the continuation of South Africa's policies of racial discrimination and, more important, its recent adoption of the Group Areas Act, preclude any chance of success for such a conference.

The General Assembly at its sixth session recommended the establishment of a commission of three members to assist the parties in negotiations. This commission was to include one member nominated by the Union of South Africa, another by India and Pakistan, and the third by the other two members or, failing agreement, by the Secretary-General. This recommendation, however, was not implemented since, in response to the Secretary-General's formal communication of the resolution to the parties, the Union replied that it was "unable to accept the resolution . . . as providing a basis for the resumption of negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan since the terms of the resolution constitute intervention in a matter which is essentially within the Union's domestic jurisdiction." On the basis of this reply India and Pakistan informed the Secretary-General that they saw no useful purpose in their joint nomination of a representative to the commission.

The Assembly at its sixth session also requested the Secretary-General, in the event the proposed commission was not constituted by the parties, to assist them with a view to facilitating negotiations and, at his discretion after consultation with the parties, to appoint an individual to give this additional assistance. Exploring possibilities of action under this provision, Mr. Lie asked the three interested governments for their views on its implementation. While India replied that it thought the appointment of an individual of proper standing would help in promoting a settlement, the Union of South Africa regretted that, since it did not recognize the General Assembly's jurisdiction, it was unable to recognize the competence of the Secretary-General to take action to facilitate negotiations. Accordingly, in a special report submitted October 10, 1952, the Secretary-General explained that his consultations with the representatives of the three governments concerned and with other governments forced him to conclude that there was at that time no possible solution to the problem and that, consequently, the appointment of someone to assist the parties was not opportune.

Recent General Assembly Action

Under these circumstances, as provided by the sixth session of the Assembly, the item was automatically included on the agenda of the seventh regular session. Although the representative of the Union of South Africa, first in the General Committee and subsequently in the plenary session, proposed exclusion of the item on the ground that the Assembly did not have jurisdiction, his proposal was rejected, and the question was referred to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. The United States supported this decision on competence.

At the first meeting of the Committee on this question November 3, the Indian representative introduced a resolution, also sponsored by Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, and Yemen, providing for the establishment of a United Nations Good Offices Commission. This Commission was to consist of an unspecified number of members to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly "with a view to arranging and assisting in negotiations between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Governments of India and Pakistan in order that a satisfactory solution of the question in accordance with the Principles and Purposes of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights may be achieved." The resolution also called upon the Union of South Africa to suspend the implementation or enforcement of the provisions of the Group Areas Act, pending the conclusion of negotiations, and provided for inclusion of the item on the agenda of the next regular Assembly session.

In the discussion of this resolution, the United States representative, Charles A. Sprague, emphasized the importance of conciliation. Pointing out the difficulties inherent in the translation of ideals into realities in the field of human relations, the United States representative declared that the Charter, in setting forth as the third of the purposes of the United Nations, "to achieve international cooperation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion," established for members the direction of policy in this field. In South Africa, however, there seemed to be a serious difference in the direction of national policy from that endorsed by the Charter. Since progress was possible only to the extent that the parties were willing to confer, in the view of the United States the Assembly's task was to encourage and assist negotiations between the parties. In this perspective the resolution proposed by the 14 states contained certain provisions, particularly the one calling upon South Africa to suspend implementation or enforcement of the Group Areas Act pending the conclusion of negotiations (which appeared to impose

a condition precedent to negotiations), that might impair the achievement of the first objective—to have the parties sit down together and resume negotiations. Mr. Sprague also questioned the wisdom of requiring the proposed Good Offices Commission to report to the eighth session and the desirability of automatically including the item on the agenda of that session. Subject to these reservations, however, he said the United States supported the 14-power draft.

The resolution was adopted in committee on November 11 by a vote of 41 to 1, with 16 abstentions, and in plenary session on December 5 by the same vote, with one less abstention. The United States voted for the resolution on both occasions, although in the paragraph by paragraph vote in committee it abstained on the paragraph relating to the Group Areas Act and voted against the provision including this question on the agenda of the eighth session. On December 22 the President of the General Assembly named Cuba, Syria, and Yugoslavia as the members of the Good Offices Commission.

RACE CONFLICT

On September 12, 1952, Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen placed on the provisional agenda for the seventh session of the General Assembly an item entitled "the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa." In an accompanying explanatory memorandum these states asserted that, in their opinion, race conflict in South Africa was "creating a dangerous and explosive situation, which constitutes both a threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations." They described the restrictive measures taken by the Union pursuant to its policy of *apartheid*, the passive resistance movement opposing these measures, and the Union's use of force against this movement. The 13 sponsors concluded that it was imperative for the Assembly to give the item urgent consideration in order to prevent further deterioration of an already dangerous situation and to achieve a settlement in accordance with Charter purposes and principles.

Competence Question

This item posed in most acute form the question of the competence of the General Assembly. The Assembly had to decide whether it could discuss and make recommendations on a matter in which a member was charged with violation of fundamental human rights ex-

clusively on the basis of its general Charter obligations to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." As a result much of the discussion focused on the competence issue, which, in turn, directly affected the views of a number of members, including the United States, on the type of action that the Assembly could appropriately take. Throughout the discussion the Union of South Africa, supported by France, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Belgium, contended unsuccessfully that the Assembly was prohibited by the provisions of article 2 (7) of the Charter concerning domestic jurisdiction from even discussing this item.

Despite South Africa's immediate objections, the General Committee recommended the item's inclusion on the agenda. When the plenary session considered this recommendation, Ambassador G. P. Jooste, the South African representative, explained in detail his Government's position on the competence issue. He asked the Assembly to take immediate action on a proposal stating that the General Assembly, having regard to the provisions of article 2 (7) of the Charter, decides that it is not competent to consider the item. In support of his proposal Ambassador Jooste argued that the Charter gave the Assembly no power to deal in any way with the subject. He pointed out that article 2 (7), which prohibited the United Nations from intervening in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, must be strictly interpreted as denying the Assembly the right to deal in any way with a matter falling within the domestic affairs of a member. Moreover, the South African delegate argued, the contention that the Charter provisions, setting forth the obligation of the Organization and its members to promote universal respect for human rights, gave the Assembly jurisdiction in this case was completely disproved by the records of the San Francisco Conference. He denied that the alleged situation in South Africa constituted a threat to peace.

On the other hand India, as a cosponsor of the item, contended that the Assembly, having previously voted to include the item involving treatment of persons of Indian origin in South Africa on its agenda and having in previous years considered that item, had already settled the competence issue. Other supporters argued that the question of race conflict in South Africa was of international significance, because of its obvious repercussions abroad, and that the Charter brought human rights matters within the purview of the Organization.

The item was placed on the agenda by a vote of 45 (including the United States) to 6, with 8 abstentions. When it was taken up by

the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on November 12, the South African representative immediately challenged the Assembly's jurisdiction and submitted a motion under which the Committee would find it was without competence.

Madame Pandit, the Indian delegate, replied that the competence issue could not be settled until the Committee had the facts of the case before it. She outlined what her Government considered to be the main features of the Union Government's *apartheid* policies, repeating that the 13 countries sponsoring the item believed that South Africa's deliberate attempt to establish racial discrimination by *apartheid*, implying permanent white superiority, created dangerous tension in South Africa with serious consequences for harmony among nations and world peace. Moreover the South African objectives were to force the non-European population into economic and social servitude in violation of basic human rights and of the Charter. India's sole desire, she asserted, was to end a situation as degrading to those who enforced the discriminatory laws as to its victims and not to condemn South Africa.

General Assembly Action

On November 13 the 13 sponsors of the item, joined by Bolivia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Liberia, introduced a joint draft resolution. It provided for establishment of a commission to examine the international aspects and implications of the racial situation in the Union of South Africa and to report its findings to the eighth session of the General Assembly, invited South Africa to cooperate with the commission, and retained the question on the agenda of the eighth session. The sponsors of the resolution argued that equality before the law and in the political field was a characteristic of the present day world and that it was the duty of the United Nations to condemn any denial of such equality as demonstrated in a policy of racial discrimination. The proposed commission of inquiry, to be composed of qualified individuals, would enable members to express their views at the next session with a fuller understanding of the question in the light of the commission's findings.

The next day, however, an amendment to this draft was offered by Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and Sweden. The amendment, to replace the operative provisions of the 18-state draft, declared "that in a multi-racial society harmony and respect for human rights and freedoms and the peaceful development of a unified community are best assured when patterns of legislation and practice are directed towards ensuring equality before the law of all persons regardless of race, creed or color, and when economic, social, cultural and political participation of all racial groups is on a basis of equality"; affirmed that "governmental policies of Member States which are

not directed towards these goals, but which are designed to perpetuate or increase discrimination, are inconsistent with the pledges of the Members under Article 56 of the Charter"; and solemnly called upon "all Member States to bring their policies into conformity with their obligation under the Charter to promote the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms." It was explained that the amendment grew out of doubts concerning the Assembly's competence, which would perhaps be justified if the Assembly decided to characterize directly and condemn implicitly particular legislation promulgated by a member.

The United States representative, Charles A. Sprague, spoke on November 15. At the outset he emphasized the inherent difficulties of the item. It involved the delicate subject of race relations within a member state, as well as the question of the Assembly's authority to deal with this subject, and what the United Nations might find it wise to do. He announced that the United States would vote against South Africa's motion on competence because it precluded even discussion; the United States considered that the Assembly was not precluded by article 2 (7) of the Charter from discussion of relevant matters. In this connection Mr. Sprague suggested the wisdom of a flexible approach to these legal issues at this early stage in the life of the United Nations.

While recognizing the complex situation in South Africa, Mr. Sprague said that his Government was impelled to raise questions regarding the practical wisdom of a policy imposing segregation and designed to insure permanent economic and political supremacy for the minority. A policy of increased restriction did not seem to be in harmony with the generally accepted interpretation of the goals and obligations of the Charter or with the universal trend toward steady diminution of legal segregation and steadily increased momentum toward equal participation in the political and economic life of the community as peoples become qualified.

The crucial point, however, was what the United Nations could or should do in this situation. The United States representative maintained that it was clearly within the authority of the United Nations to affirm and reaffirm the principles of respect for human rights that have gained general acceptance and to call upon members to set the course of their national policy in the direction of embodying those principles in law and custom as rapidly as local conditions permit. If this could be done in general terms the issue of competence would be avoided, and the Organization would not be involved in the inherent danger of singling out one member for criticism.

Mr. Sprague questioned the desirability of the 18-state proposal because it established a commission to look into the international

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aspects and implications of the racial situation in South Africa. The facts were well known, and whatever the findings of the commission, it was questionable whether this approach would influence constructively those whose course of action the Assembly was seeking to moderate or whether the commission was a practical means of bringing the Organization's influence to bear. On the other hand the amendment submitted by Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, which expressed in general terms the meaning of the Charter obligations on human rights, pointed the direction in which national policies should proceed, and called upon all members, not just one, to bring their policies into conformity with Charter principles and obligations, seemed the best means for the Assembly to exercise its important powers of persuasion.

In the ensuing discussion a divergence of views emerged between those states who considered that the 18-state proposal constituted a moderate, realistic approach and those who believed that the Assembly must limit itself to a general declaration of the principles involved. The supporters of the 18-state proposal regarded the Scandinavian amendment as failing to come to grips with the realities of the situation because of its general character. As the result of discussion concerning the relevance of the amendment, its sponsors subsequently circulated it as a separate proposal.

The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee voted on both proposals November 20. At the outset the South African motion challenging the Assembly's competence was rejected by a vote of 45 to 6, with 8 abstentions. Thereupon the South African representative announced that his delegation would consider any resolution based upon discussion of the question as *ultra vires* and would vote against both resolutions. The 18-state proposal was adopted by 35 votes to 2, with 22 abstentions (including the United States). The Scandinavian resolution was also adopted by 20 votes to 7, with 32 abstentions. Thus both resolutions were recommended to the General Assembly.

When the Assembly considered this question in plenary session on December 5, the South African representative immediately submitted a motion challenging the Assembly's competence to adopt the two resolutions recommended by the Committee. His motion was rejected by 43 votes to 6, with 9 abstentions. The 18-state resolution was then adopted by a vote of 35 to 1, with 25 abstentions (again including the United States), and the Scandinavian resolution was also approved by a vote of 24 (United States) to 1, with 34 abstentions.[1] Following the vote, Mr. Jooste announced that he was instructed to

[1] Hermán Santa Cruz (Chile), Henri Laugier (France), and Dantes Bellegarde (Haiti), have since been appointed to the commission established by this resolution.

state that his Government would continue to claim the protection of article 2 (7) of the Charter and that it would regard any resolution emanating from a discussion of the present item as *ultra vires* and therefore null and void.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

The principal political problem of an organizational character confronting the United Nations during 1952 was the deadlock between the free world and the Soviet Union over the admission of new members. The elections to United Nations organs occasioned little difficulty in 1952, and Soviet-bloc efforts to have Chinese National Government representatives replaced with Chinese Communists were uniformly unsuccessful. The General Assembly when it recessed on December 22 had not yet considered the question of the appointment of the Secretary-General, placed on the agenda of its seventh session as a result of Trygve Lie's decision to resign, which he announced in November.

Admission of New Members

By the summer of 1952 there were 19 pending applications for membership in the United Nations. These 19 included 5 new applications—those of Cambodia, Japan, Laos, Libya, and Viet-Nam. The Security Council had not yet considered separately any of these 5 applications. On the other hand it had examined the applications of the 14 other candidates on numerous occasions in the past. Five of these applicants (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the "Mongolian People's Republic," and Rumania), all Soviet-sponsored, had never received the required seven affirmative votes. The other nine (Austria, Ceylon, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Nepal, and Portugal) had always obtained seven or more favorable votes but had been repeatedly vetoed by the Soviet Union. Each of these nine applicants had also been endorsed by the General Assembly. The Soviet Union, in exchange for its agreement not to veto certain candidates, had demanded the admission of the five Soviet-sponsored applicants. The majority in the Security Council, including the United States, had been unwilling to accept this deal, which made the admission of qualified applicants dependent upon the admission of others that had never been found qualified and which was contrary to the Charter principle that each applicant should be considered separately on its own merits.

The Security Council in September 1952 and the seventh session of the General Assembly in December 1952 again considered the question of the admission of new members. However, the Soviet Union persisted in its arbitrary policies, and a solution to the problem was unobtainable.

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION

The sixth session of the General Assembly on February 1, 1952, adopted a resolution recommending that the Security Council reconsider all pending applications and base its action exclusively on the conditions stipulated in the Charter. The resolution also requested the permanent members of the Council to confer with a view to assisting the Council to come to positive recommendations on these applications.

In accordance with the General Assembly's request, the permanent members of the Council met on August 21 to confer on the applications. No agreement was possible because there had been no change in the positions of the permanent members.

When the Security Council resumed consideration of the membership question on September 2, the first item before it was a Soviet draft resolution calling for the simultaneous admission of 14 applicants, including the 5 Soviet-sponsored candidates and 9 of the other candidates but excluding Cambodia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Laos, and Viet-Nam. The Soviet representative made it clear that the Soviet Union would continue to veto Italy and other applicants until the Soviet-sponsored candidates were admitted. The Council on September 8 rejected the Soviet proposal by a vote of 5 against (Brazil, China, Greece, the Netherlands, and the United States), 2 in favor (Pakistan and the U.S.S.R.), and 4 abstentions (Chile, France, Turkey, and the United Kingdom). Ambassador Warren R. Austin on September 3 explained the continued United States opposition to the Soviet proposal. He reiterated the United States belief that under the Charter each applicant is entitled to separate consideration on its own merits. He called attention to the fact that the Soviet proposal omitted a number of states, like the Republic of Korea, that were qualified for membership, while it included five candidates that, in the opinion of the United States, did not fulfill the necessary Charter conditions.

From September 10 to 19 the Security Council considered separately for the first time the new applications for membership. It had before it draft resolutions recommending the admission of Libya, submitted by Pakistan; of Japan, submitted by the United States; and of Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, submitted by France. On September 15

the Soviet Union introduced a draft resolution recommending the admission of the Viet Minh regime, which on December 29, 1951, had sent a telegram purporting to be a membership application. The draft resolutions recommending the admission of Libya, Japan, Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia each received 10 favorable votes but were vetoed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet representative stated that the Soviet Union was willing to include Libya in its package proposal but charged that Japan and the three states of Indochina were not independent states and that the Council should not consider their applications. The Soviet recommendation that the Viet Minh regime be admitted was rejected by a vote of 10 against and 1 in favor. The position of the United States and others was that the Viet Minh regime was not a state and that the so-called application of this regime should not even be considered.

During the debate on the new applications the United States warmly supported the admission of Libya, Japan, Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia. In speaking on behalf of the United States draft resolution recommending that Japan be admitted, Ambassador Austin noted that Japan's application came as a logical consequence of the Treaty of Peace, which entered into effect on April 28, 1952, and which reestablished Japan as a sovereign and independent state. He recalled that Japan had already cooperated in many areas with the United Nations and expressed the opinion that it fully possessed the qualifications for membership. Its admission, he noted, would strengthen the United Nations and would open up to Japan new avenues of political and economic cooperation and a system of collective security.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee of the seventh session of the General Assembly began debate on the membership question on December 12, 1952. At the initial meeting an earlier Central American proposal requesting an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on whether a Security Council recommendation on a membership application was subject to the veto was withdrawn, and three draft resolutions were submitted: a Central American draft introduced by El Salvador, under which the General Assembly would itself conclude that the veto did not apply in membership cases and would decide for or against the admission of those applicants that had received seven or more votes in the Security Council; a Peruvian draft also deducing that a Security Council recommendation on the admission of a new member was not subject to the veto and concluding that even if the veto did apply, it would be inadmissible in cases where the permanent member casting the negative vote acknowledged that

the applicant in question was qualified under article 4 of the Charter; and a second Central American draft calling for the establishment of a Special Committee to make a detailed study of the membership question and report its conclusions to the eighth session of the Assembly.

This Committee, under the resolution as later amended, would be composed of representatives of the following states: Argentina, Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Greece, India, Lebanon, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, the Philippines, the Soviet Union, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States. During the course of the debate the representatives of Peru and El Salvador suggested that priority be given to the creation of a Special Committee and that their other draft resolutions not be put to the vote but be referred to the Committee for study.

The Soviet bloc opposed the establishment of a Special Committee, and on December 13 the Polish representative introduced a draft resolution recommending that the Security Council reconsider the same 14 candidates that the Soviet Union had included in its package proposal "in order to submit a recommendation on the simultaneous admission of all these States . . ."

In addition the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee had before it six draft resolutions relating to the qualifications of individual applicants. The United States on December 15 submitted a draft resolution in which the General Assembly would determine that Japan met the qualifications for membership and should be admitted and would request the Security Council to take note of this determination. On the same day France submitted similar draft resolutions on Viet-Nam, Cambodia, and Laos, and on December 17 six Arab States jointly introduced draft resolutions endorsing Libya and Jordan.

The members participating in the debate expressed deep concern over the continued stalemate on the membership question. However, there continued to be differences of opinion on the various proposals that had been offered as solutions. While some approved of Assembly action to admit certain applicants, as proposed by the representatives of El Salvador and Peru, others contended that the veto did apply to membership applications and that this course was therefore illegal. The Polish package proposal received some support, but the majority opposed it. In view of the complexities of the problem there was wide agreement, outside the Soviet bloc, that it would be desirable to establish the proposed Special Committee to review the whole question.

Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, the United States representative, spoke on the membership problem in the *Ad Hoc* Political

Committee on December 13 and 16. He noted that the Soviet Union, in persisting in its arbitrary policies, had repeatedly ignored many General Assembly resolutions, as well as an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. He deplored the fact that the Soviet Union had used its veto 28 times to exclude 14 qualified candidates and characterized the Soviet package deal as "nothing less than an attempt at holdup." In explaining United States objections to the admission of the Soviet-sponsored candidates, none of which had ever been found qualified by the Assembly, he recalled that the Soviet-sponsored applicants were rendering at least moral support to Communist aggression in Korea and were waging the most virulent kind of hate propaganda against the free world; also that Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania defied the General Assembly's efforts to end the guerrilla war in Greece, have waged a war of nerves against Yugoslavia, and have molested foreign diplomats and imprisoned foreign citizens on false charges. He cited flagrant violations of the human rights provisions of the peace treaties by Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania. Senator Wiley reiterated United States support for the goal of a universal United Nations membership and for the admission of the 14 qualified candidates and urged that the Assembly approve the United States draft resolution endorsing Japan. Reviewing the various proposals that had been suggested as possible solutions, he stated that some of these proposals raised "grave constitutional issues," and he favored the proposal for the establishment of a Special Committee, which could make an unhurried exploration of the problem.

The *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on December 19 and the plenary meeting of the Assembly on December 21 approved the Central American draft resolution calling for the establishment of a Special Committee and the 6 draft resolutions on Japan, Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Libya, and Jordan. The plenary vote on the proposal to establish the Special Committee was 48 to 5, with 6 abstentions. (Before the vote the President of the Assembly announced that India, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union would be deleted from the list of countries designated to serve on the Committee since they had announced that they did not wish to participate.) The plenary votes on the six individual applicants were as follows: Japan 50 to 5, with 4 abstentions; Viet-Nam 40 to 5, with 12 abstentions; Cambodia 38 to 5, with 14 abstentions; Laos 36 to 5, with 14 abstentions; Libya 51 to 5, with 2 abstentions; and Jordan 49 to 5, with 3 abstentions. The five Soviet-bloc members were the only ones to vote against all of the resolutions approved by the Assembly. With respect to the Polish draft resolution calling for a Security Council "recommendation on the simultaneous admission" of 14 candidates, a move to delete the word "simultaneous" carried in both the committee and the ple-

nary meetings. The revised proposal was rejected in plenary session by a vote of 30 against, 9 in favor, and 10 abstentions. The Soviet bloc itself voted against the draft resolution in the plenary session on the grounds that the deletion of the word "simultaneous" changed the basic meaning of the proposal.

Chinese Representation in the United Nations

The Soviet Union again raised the Chinese representation issue at the seventh session of the General Assembly. When the Assembly's Credentials Committee met on October 17, 1952, to consider the credentials of delegates, the Soviet representative proposed that the credentials of the representatives of the Chinese National Government be regarded as invalid. Ambassador Ernest A. Gross, the United States representative, then submitted a draft resolution recommending that the Assembly postpone for the duration of its seventh session consideration of all proposals to exclude the representatives of the Chinese National Government and to seat Chinese Communists and finding that the credentials of the representatives of the Chinese National Government were in proper form. The Committee approved the United States draft resolution and decided not to vote on the Soviet proposal.

The General Assembly on October 25, by a vote of 42 to 7, with 11 abstentions, adopted a resolution approving the report of the Credentials Committee and deciding, in accordance with the Committee's recommendation, to postpone consideration of all proposals to exclude Chinese National Government representatives and to seat Chinese Communists. During the debate the United States representative strongly supported this resolution. He declared that the Chinese Communist regime "has been guilty of continuing contempt for the United Nations and for its peaceful procedures" and that this regime "cannot enter these halls with bloody hands." He clearly reaffirmed the opposition of the United States to the Soviet Union's repeated attempts to unseat the representatives of the Chinese National Government.

Throughout the year members of the Soviet bloc, as in 1950 and 1951, made efforts to have various other bodies of the United Nations and the specialized agencies exclude representatives of the National Government of China and invite representatives of the Peiping regime. In each instance their efforts were unsuccessful, and at the end of 1952 representatives of the Chinese National Government continued to sit for China on all bodies of which China was a member.

Resignation of Trygve Lie

On November 10, 1952, Mr. Lie, in letters to the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council, submitted his resignation as Secretary-General. In a statement to the Assembly Mr. Lie made the following explanation of his decision:

> First of all, I ask you to remember that I wanted to retire in 1950 at the end of my five-year term. I agreed to continue only because the aggression in Korea created circumstances that put me under an obligation to carry on.
>
> Now I feel the situation is somewhat different. The United Nations has thrown back aggression in Korea. There can be an armistice if the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the North Koreans are sincere in their wish to end the fighting.
>
> If they are sincere, then a new secretary-general, who is the unanimous choice of the five great Powers, the Security Council and the General Assembly, may be more helpful than I can be. On the other hand, if the world situation should go from bad to worse, at least I would not want the position of secretary-general to hinder in the slightest degree any hope of reaching a new understanding that would prevent world disaster.

The General Assembly on February 1, 1946, accepting the recommendation of the Security Council, had appointed Trygve Lie as the first Secretary-General of the United Nations for a term of 5 years. Since Mr. Lie's term was due to expire in February 1951, the Security Council in October 1950 held a number of private meetings in an effort to make a recommendation on his reappointment or on the appointment of a successor. Because the Soviet Union was determined to oust Mr. Lie and a number of other members, including the United States, refused to agree to this, the Council was unable to make any recommendation. In these circumstances the Assembly, which had fixed Mr. Lie's original term of office, adopted on November 1, 1950, a resolution under which Mr. Lie was continued in office for a further period of 3 years. The United States was one of the 15 cosponsors of this resolution and strongly supported its adoption. As Ambassador Austin pointed out at the time, the Soviet Union, which had vetoed the reappointment of Mr. Lie in the Security Council, had intended to punish him for carrying out faithfully the Security Council decisions to resist aggression in Korea. The issue had thus become focused on principles, and the use of the veto to punish Mr. Lie had made it impossible to consider new nominations on their merits. Adoption of the Assembly's resolution was necessary, the United States representative explained, to maintain the integrity and independence of the office of the Secretary-General. The Soviet-bloc members vigorously opposed Mr. Lie's continuation in office and have not recognized him as the Secretary-General since the expiration of his initial term.

The General Assembly on November 13 decided to include the question of the appointment of the Secretary-General on its agenda. However, this question had not been considered when the session recessed on December 22 and therefore remained for discussion at the resumed seventh session.

Citation "Died for the United Nations"

With a view to paying tribute to the men who have lost their lives in the service of the United Nations, France on July 16, 1952, proposed that the General Assembly at its seventh session consider "Use of the citation 'Died for the United Nations' in respect to persons who, in certain circumstances, are killed in the service of the United Nations." As a result of this French initiative, the General Assembly on December 5, 1952, adopted a resolution, also submitted by France, declaring "to have 'Died for the United Nations' all those who are killed in the course of an action or a mission on behalf of the Organization in connection with the maintenance of international peace and security, the prevention or ending of hostilities or the suppression of aggression." The resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 43 to 5 (Soviet bloc), with no abstentions, also stated that "it is proper to recognize the sacrifice of each and every person in the international cause by rendering to their memory such tribute as will keep alive the remembrance of that sacrifice."

Reference to those who have died in Korea, Greece, and Palestine figured prominently in the statements made by the United States and several other governments in support of the French resolution. Mrs. Edith Sampson, speaking for the United States, said:

> The resolution now before us would confer a mark of honor on all those who have lost their lives in the cause of the United Nations and the cause of peace. In thinking of this proposal our minds and hearts turn to Korea. . . . The cost has been heavy. In adopting the resolution proposed by the Delegation of France, we do not wipe out the debt owed to those who have sacrificed their lives that there may be peace in the world. . . . For the General Assembly, this should be a day of rededication to the ideals set down in the Charter of the United Nations.

PART II

Economic and Social Cooperation and Human Rights

POVERTY, disease, hunger, and ignorance—like war—are among the oldest scourges of mankind. Despite the extraordinary advances of the 20th century, hundreds of millions of human beings lack adequate shelter and clothing, suffer from ill health, live on the borderline of starvation, and cannot read and write. In large regions of the world, especially in the tropics, men and women live and work under conditions that have changed little over the centuries.

The existence of these large areas of low income and low living standards is a matter of grave concern to the more highly developed countries, on humanitarian grounds. Moreover the prosperity of the industrialized nations and, indeed, the maintenance of peace depend in the long run upon the steady progress forward of the less advanced areas. The slow pace of such progress to date, and in some cases the lack of any progress, is particularly ominous because of the encouragement it gives to Soviet propaganda and subversion among the poor and the weak.

Fortunately for the free world, improved techniques are now at hand for dealing with these age-old scourges of mankind. Fortunately too the United Nations system offers a means for applying these techniques through the cooperative efforts of all countries willing to help—rich and poor, strong and weak.

Part II of this report records what was done in 1952 through these cooperative efforts toward raising economic and social standards and safeguarding freedom. It is a record of steady but unspectacular progress—progress in such matters as eliminating malaria, controlling dangerous drugs, increasing food production, and promoting human rights. It is a record of much accomplished but also of much more left to be done.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

World Economic Situation

The Economic and Social Council undertook its annual review of the world economic situation at its 14th session, which was held at United Nations Headquarters from May 20 to August 1, 1952. Discussion was based on the *World Economic Report 1950–51*, prepared by the United Nations Secretariat and published early in 1952. Although the Council made no specific recommendations, the discussions served to highlight the economic problems of concern to member countries and brought out various suggestions for meeting them.

At the beginning of 1951 the major concern of most United Nations members was that it would be a year of shortages, particularly of capital goods, and of heavy inflationary pressures. These were the worldwide economic consequences that many feared would result from the heavy demands upon production of the defense programs initiated after the outbreak of aggression in Korea.

In fact, as the *World Economic Report 1950–51* pointed out, 1951 witnessed the greatest outpouring of production in history. In the first full calendar year after the outbreak of aggression in Korea, more goods were produced than in any previous year. Moreover, since the increase in aggregate production between 1950 and 1951 was greater than the increase in the production of military goods alone, the availability of civilian goods increased despite the demands of defense programs. Also the expectations of scarcity of raw materials, which had been generated in the months following the attack on Korea, proved to be greatly exaggerated, and by the end of 1951 the prices of most raw materials had declined substantially from the peaks that they had reached during the second half of 1950. By the first half of 1952 increased production, along with anti-inflationary measures, resulted in keeping the general price level fairly stable in most countries. The prospects for keeping inflation under control were much brighter than they had been a year before.

On the other hand, as the result of the operation of a number of factors, some of them related to the defense program, considerable strain developed on the balance-of-payments position of Western Europe during the latter part of 1951. Primary producing countries also experienced a renewal of balance-of-payments difficulties as foreign demand for raw materials eased off and prices fell. Pockets of unemployment and of excess capacity also appeared in certain sectors. Textile production, for example, slumped seriously from the peaks attained in 1950–51, and the industry was faced with some fundamental problems of adjustment. Finally world supplies of food con-

tinued to increase less rapidly than population, and per capita consumption of food around the world was less than 15 years before. Moreover inequalities in the level of food consumption as between different nations appeared greater than before World War II.

Both underdeveloped and industrialized countries stressed, during the Council's discussion of the Secretariat's annual *World Economic Report*, the need to promote economic development in underdeveloped areas in the interest of world economic expansion. Western European countries emphasized the importance of expanding and liberalizing world trade and, in particular, urged a more liberal import policy by the United States. Representatives of underdeveloped countries, concerned with the problem of insuring greater stability in their foreign exchange earnings from raw materials, urged action to assure them more stable prices and more favorable terms of trade. The Soviet-bloc representatives, as at previous sessions of the Council, continued to accuse the United States of a policy of "militarization" and "economic imperialism" beneficial to the United States but responsible for the economic difficulties of Western Europe and for the lack of rapid economic development in the underdeveloped areas. They also urged that countries take steps to expand the volume of East-West trade.

The United States representative, Isador Lubin, pointed out that, despite the burden of defense, the United States not only substantially increased its exports of capital goods to underdeveloped areas but during 1951 made an increasing volume of loans and grants available to assist the underdeveloped countries. At the same time not only had civilian supplies in the United States been maintained at a high level, but prices had remained comparatively stable. He stressed that the economy of the free world had adjusted to the heavy demands of defense with far fewer adverse consequences than most people had deemed possible.

Members of the Economic and Social Council were concerned with the prospects for maintaining high levels of production and employment in the United States after defense expenditures leveled off to the rates required for continuing national security. Mr. Lubin expressed the belief that, although there would be difficulties, the United States would successfully meet the problem of readjustment to a lower scale of defense expenditures without serious repercussions on the general level of production and employment. In this connection he pointed out that the adjustment problem would be much smaller than the one handled successfully in the United States after World War II. He made it clear that the American people were not only determined to avoid serious recession but to continue to have an expanding economy, not only in the United States but also abroad.

Thus, while assuring itself that the free world was successfully

coping with many of the important economic problems arising out of the defense effort and examining ways of dealing with some of the still unresolved difficulties arising from actual or anticipated scarcities, the United Nations began to focus attention on the period that would follow any drop in rearmament activity in the free world. Most members felt that world economic expansion could best be furthered by assisting the economic development of underdeveloped countries, and primary attention continued to be given to the means by which the United Nations could help in this task.

REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

Problems primarily of concern to particular regions were taken up, as in previous years, through the United Nations three regional Commissions: the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE). The United States is a member of all three Commissions, which provide a continuing opportunity for member states generally to participate directly in the economic activities of the United Nations—an opportunity that is lacking in the case of the 18-member Economic and Social Council.

As had been true for the past few years, in 1952 the most important work of the Economic Commission for Europe was in the field of inland transport, coal, steel, and timber. With a view to facilitating inland transport, it continued its efforts to simplify and standardize the formalities involved in moving passengers and goods across national frontiers. The Commission, through its technical committees and subcommittees, worked out international agreements covering the handling of perishable or dangerous cargoes; bus, railway, and highway rates; and the treatment of automobile liability insurance. The Coal Committee continued to provide basic statistics on production, consumption, and distribution of coal and made a quarterly allocation of European coal. Both the Steel Committee and the Timber Committee published comprehensive studies on trends and prospects in their respective fields, the latter in cooperation with the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

Other studies were made of rural electrification techniques, and a new program in the field of housing was undertaken under Commission auspices, looking toward the establishment of a clearing house for data on the best modern building techniques as they are developed.

The annual survey of economic conditions in Europe, prepared by the ECE Secretariat, has become a recognized standard work. In addition to a comprehensive review of West European economic developments, the 1951 survey contained an analysis of conditions in

the Communist countries and did much to balance Soviet propaganda concerning ideal conditions in the Communist area. It pointed out that despite claims of vastly increased production the consumer in this area seems to be no better off than before, since the increases are apparently being channeled into heavy industry and armaments. The Secretariat also continued to publish quarterly bulletins on European economic developments, which contain basic statistical data and analytical material. These surveys constitute our only source of such data for the Soviet bloc.

The Economic Commission for Latin America was largely concerned with economic development during 1952, continuing its study and analysis of techniques and problems of economic development programing, the financial aspects of economic development, the economic and legal status of foreign investments in Latin America, and ways of increasing domestic capital formation. One of the principal difficulties in that region has been the inadequate number of competent economists, trained to understand and cope with the problems of development as they are presented in Latin America. ECLA in 1952 established its Training Center on Economic Development in Santiago, Chile, at which government officers concerned with these problems in their respective countries receive in-service training and work together toward the solution of specific development problems under the skilled guidance of the Secretariat.

Other ECLA activities included study of the economy of Ecuador and formulation of specific recommendations to its Government, which are already serving as the basis for the Government's plans in this field; convening of a seminar on iron and steel at Bogotá, Colombia, at which the problems of the various countries of the region that are now setting up industries in this field were jointly discussed and experiences exchanged; and work on the integration of the economies of the Central American countries. In the latter case attention was focused during 1952 on the development of an integrated system of transportation, the possible establishment of a technological institute to develop industries designed to serve the whole region, and the working out of common customs procedures. ECLA provided, in this connection, the staff for regular meetings of the Ministers of Economy of the Central American countries.

Development problems were also again the primary concern of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, which carried forward work in the fields of industry and trade, inland transport, flood control, land reform, and the supply of capital goods. Among ECAFE's principal accomplishments in this field in 1952 were the meeting of experts held in Bangkok, Thailand, in September 1952 on the mobilization of domestic capital, which is one of the main problems in this region where industrializaton is in its infancy; the meeting of

statistical experts, also held in Bangkok in September 1952, which attempted to bring greater order and clarity into the statistical operations of the new governments of the region; and work in the field of inland transport, involving such problems as the improved maintenance of motor vehicles and the best means of highway construction under Asian conditions. The Commission also sent a group of railway experts to the United States and Europe to study modern signaling practices and other phases of railroad operations that might have practical value for Far Eastern countries. The Commission's work on the development of water resources and on multiple-purpose river basin projects and its studies of trade potentialities between the countries of the region and Europe were also noteworthy.

The Commission convened a trade-promotion meeting in Singapore, at which private businessmen as well as Government officials discussed market conditions and better commercial and trade-promotion techniques. The United States made available to this meeting a vast amount of material on such subjects as market analysis and the organization of trade associations. Finally the Commission continued its annual survey of economic conditions in the region. This survey provides the basis for much of the work carried on under the cooperative effort for joint planning and mutual assistance for the economic development of Southeast Asia, known as the Colombo Plan, as well as for the work undertaken by individual governments of the region and through the United Nations technical assistance program.

Technical Assistance

During 1952, its second full year of operation, the United Nations expanded program of technical assistance increased in size and was strengthened in its administrative procedures. The program is now operating in more than 46 underdeveloped countries. Its continued expansion is indicated by the following table of cumulative figures:

	Jan. 1, 1951	Dec. 31, 1951	Dec. 31, 1952
Number of requests for assistance received from governments	130	1,220	1,576
Agreements for providing assistance signed with governments	145	543	700
Experts recruited by participating agencies	80	817	1,727
Experts in field as of date shown	.....	462	1,140

In the words of the chairman of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, the United Nations program has become "a worldwide operation of a completely international character and one of great magnitude."

FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

The Second Technical Assistance Conference was held at Paris in February 1952 to obtain pledges for calendar year 1952 to the special account out of which the United Nations program is financed. Fifty-two governments at the Conference, and 13 governments subsequently, pledged the equivalent of $18,795,355.

The United States pledged $11,400,000, or approximately 60 percent of the total pledged. Other major contributions were (in dollar equivalents) United Kingdom, $1,260,151; France, $1,064,643; Canada, $750,000; Brazil, $459,459; the Netherlands, $400,000; Sweden, $357,336; India, $275,000; Belgium, $270,000. (For a more complete breakdown of contributions in 1952, see appendix II.) Funds for the United States contribution to the 1952 program were appropriated in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1952. The United States paid $6,000,000 in May 1952 and $4,000,000 in December. As of December 31, 1952, governments had paid (in dollar equivalents) $16,210,538.

For 1953 the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly urged that governments make contributions to the program, looking toward a goal of $25,000,000.[1]

Six meetings were held during the year by the United Nations Technical Assistance Board (TAB), the interagency body responsible to the Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) of the Economic and Social Council for the planning and coordination of United Nations agency technical assistance programs. A consultant to the chairman of the Technical Assistance Board visited seven Middle and Far Eastern countries and made a significant evaluation of the operations of the United Nations program. Another consultant made an extensive report on briefing and orientation of experts sent out under the United Nations program. At the year's end the Technical Assistance Board submitted to the Technical Assistance Committee a recommendation that a new system of lump-sum payments by host governments for local costs be adopted. A policy statement was also issued by the chairman with respect to conditions of service for experts.

A major change was made in 1952 in the organization of the Technical Assistance Board when the Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution providing for a full-time TAB executive chairman, to be

[1] At the Third Technical Assistance Conference held in February 1953, the pledges for 1953 amounted to $21,278,575. It was also seen by February that, because of a more rapid expansion of activities by the United Nations agencies than had been anticipated, the carryover of funds from previous years would amount to only about $4,000,000. This gave an estimated total of funds available for 1953 of approximately $25,300,000.

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appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations after consultation with the executive heads of the participating agencies. Under the new rules decisions are normally to be taken by general agreement between the executive chairman and all members of the Board. In the absence of such general agreement decisions are made when a majority of the members present and voting and the executive chairman are in agreement. If no agreement can be reached, either such a majority or the executive chairman may refer the matter to the Technical Assistance Committee for decision at the governmental level. The United States attached considerable importance to these changes since they were aimed at insuring a more effective functioning of the various parts of the United Nations system in the field of technical assistance.

Reflecting the purpose of these changes were new provisions laid down in the same resolution, which provided that no more than 50 percent of the total pledges for 1953 should be automatically allocated to the participating organizations and that the balance should be allocated to the agencies as programs and projects were approved by the Board. Subsequently Sir David Owen was appointed executive chairman of TAB. In order to make his integrated review of the proposed 1953 programs more effective, he appointed a committee of four distinguished economists from Argentina, Burma, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These economists met prior to the meeting of the Board in December 1952 and made an initial assessment of the submittals of the various agencies.

Coordination of the United Nations program with other technical assistance programs has been carefully developed. Continuous interchange of information, consultations between experts and administrators, and exchange of observers for technical meetings have been maintained. Within the United States Government every effort has been made to coordinate the multilateral United Nations programs with those of the Technical Cooperation Administration.

The importance of shifting the major responsibility for coordination of all technical assistance programs to the field has come to be increasingly recognized. By the end of the year the Technical Assistance Board had provided for 17 resident representatives and liaison officers. This meant that those countries in which United Nations technical assistance activities had attained substantial dimensions were covered, and it pointed the way to increasingly effective field working relationships. On April 30, 1952, the chairman of the Technical Assistance Board instructed all resident representatives and liaison officers that they should, before forwarding to headquarters a request for technical assistance from a government, obtain the comments of the officer in charge of any related project

of another agency. A corresponding instruction went out at about the same time to all Technical Cooperation Administration country directors and Mutual Security Agency mission chiefs. These moves are designed to effect the closest possible coordination of United Nations programs of technical assistance with other multilateral programs such as the Colombo Plan, the programs of the Organization of American States, and the United States bilateral programs.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHMENTS

United Nations Technical Assistance Administration

The 3½ million people who harvest a single crop in the Philippines work about 120 days each year. For the rest of the year they are idle and have to support themselves out of the meager earnings gained from only 4 months' work. Even this small income must be shared with the landowner. To deal with this problem of rural unemployment, the Philippine Government asked the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration (UNTAA) for a special consultant. This expert, an American woman, studied the situation and concluded that as a first step the cottage industries of the country should be revitalized. These had once occupied an important place in the country's economy but had declined after the war when machine-made goods came into the market and were able to undersell the craft goods.

In the weaving industry, for example, a number of basic changes were accomplished to meet modern technological and market requirements. For one thing, the looms had to be widened. The Filipinos had thought this impossible to accomplish at reasonable cost, but as a result of this and other improvements, the weaving industry is gradually getting back on its feet, and many Filipinos are now finding opportunity to supplement their small incomes.

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization

Rice is the staple diet for 70 percent of Asian peoples, and, while the population has increased by over 10 percent in the past 12 years, the production of rice is still below the pre-1940 level. Asia has now become a net importer of food, and famine is very close to countries like India. Therefore, the experiments at the Rice Research Institute at Cuttack, India, sponsored by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, greatly concern the peoples of Asia.

At Cuttack 10 countries of Southeast Asia are combining in a comprehensive project of hybridization and selection of varieties of indica and japonica rice. Japonica is the type grown in Japan, and its yield is three times greater than that of indica, grown in India. But

it is not possible simply to substitute japonica for indica in those countries where the latter is currently cultivated. Japonica rice does well only in high latitudes; indica is the rice of tropical and equatorial Asia. Therefore, the two varieties must be hybridized. Substantial gains have been made in various parts of the world in increasing the production of rice and other crops by use of improved seed varieties, and this project has real possibilities for contributing to increased food production.

For the Cuttack Institute India is providing land and other facilities, and the director of the Institute is an Indian official. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization is helping to finance the costs of the technical personnel who are working under the director and is also arranging for the operation of a center for the training of fellows from countries in the region.

World Health Organization

The most comprehensive insect control campaign in the Western Hemisphere is being developed in Central America. The governments of six republics and of the territory of British Honduras, embracing a population of about 9 million, have, with the assistance of the World Health Organization, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, formed a united front to stamp out the major insect-spread diseases that have been for centuries among the chief causes of death and disability in this area.

Of these diseases enemy number one has been malaria. In Costa Rica the Government reports a reduction in the incidence of the disease of about 50 percent during the past 2 years; steady declines are also being reported in the other countries of Central America.

Yellow fever, onchocerciasis, and filariasis are other severe diseases that are yielding to spraying. With the mass, house-to-house spraying and dusting of insecticides, less costly and laborious and more effective than the draining of swamps and other sanitary measures not always practicable in urban areas, a number of the major insect-borne diseases can be brought under control in the same campaign.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

In Cha Choeng Sao, a small city 60 miles east of Bangkok, the Thai Government has begun a plan, with the help of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, for the modernization of the country's school system. Other international agencies are also cooperating in this project, as is the United States Mutual Security Agency. The Thai Government has recognized that, although people need to learn to read and write, those who are threat-

ened by starvation also want to acquire the practical knowledge that will enable them to feed themselves more adequately, and those suffering from disease want to learn how they can improve the unhealthy conditions that have made them sick. The Cha Choeng Sao project is something more than education in the narrow sense.

Much has already been achieved. A young Thai architect drew up plans for the several new buildings that have been constructed. More important the curriculum has also been modernized with the substitution of geography, science, hygiene, and agriculture for rote learning of traditional fables. Furthermore through practical demonstrations these subjects have been taken off the blackboard and put into the lives of the pupils.

Three miles from Cha Choeng Sao is the new rural school. Here students are raising their own livestock and otherwise putting into practice what they have learned in the classroom. A new vocational school has also been established with assistance from the International Labor Organization. Students following the school's 3-year course are learning trades useful in the building industry, which are urgently needed in Thailand.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and Mutual Security Agency are cooperating on teacher training, the latter helping to establish basic laboratories in 14 of Thailand's 26 teacher-training colleges.

International Labor Organization

One of the great problems facing many underdeveloped countries today is that of obtaining skilled manpower for industry. Although the Latin American industrial economy has recently undergone a rapid expansion, the industrial schools have not kept pace with this change. Upon the invitation of the Brazilian Government, the International Labor Organization met with the Government and with the National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship, an organization maintained by industry itself in São Paulo. The International Labor Organization agreed to help administer a training scheme for Latin American countries, which would make use of the wide training facilities and scholarships offered by the National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship. Over 40 different trades are taught in the National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship schools. At the request of Brazil the International Labor Organization is providing 15 instructors and is financing 13 fellowships to assist the National Service of Industrial Apprenticeship in training almost 100 fellows, who have come to Brazil from 19 Latin American countries and who, returning to their own countries, will themselves teach others.

International Civil Aviation Organization

The fact that various parts of the country are isolated because of poor communications is one of the greatest obstacles to the development of Iran. The establishment of air communications is therefore a means of meeting an urgent development problem, and training is badly needed for air safety. Iran requested the International Civil Aviation Organization to send an expert to assist the Iranian airways in improving their organizations and service, and the International Civil Aviation Organization also agreed to send a team of experts to the Iranian Department of Civil Aviation to train its personnel in the operation of ground facilities and services. In addition the International Civil Aviation Organization mission is training meteorological observers and forecasters and posting them throughout the country, which so far has not had an effective weather service.

Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries

Most member states consider the problem of the economic development of underdeveloped countries to be the most important long-term economic problem before the United Nations. During 1952 the United Nations continued to give attention to ways and means, in addition to the technical assistance program, by which it might assist the underdeveloped countries to deal with this problem.

ACTION BY THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

The Economic and Social Council at its 14th session took a number of actions designed to move forward various proposals relating to the financing of economic development. In response to a request of the sixth session of the General Assembly, the Council invited the Secretary-General to establish an expert committee to work out detailed plans for a special fund to make grants and long-term, low-interest loans for economic development to underdeveloped countries. The committee was to make its report to the Council by March 1953. Although the United States supported this action as an appropriate procedure in response to the instructions of the Assembly, the United States representative on the Council reiterated the position of the United States, stated at the sixth General Assembly, that the establishment of such a fund was neither feasible nor practicable since there was little indication that there would be wide and substantial participation in it. He added that the United States has reservations in principle to the provision of grant aid by an inter-

national agency. The United Kingdom, France, and other countries also stated that study of plans for a special fund would not commit their governments to support the fund either financially or otherwise.

The Council also gave consideration to a preliminary report by the International Bank on the possible contribution that an international finance corporation might make toward stimulating private investment in underdeveloped areas. Such a corporation would be designed to participate in equity investments and make loans to private enterprises in underdeveloped countries. The Council requested the Bank to explore this proposal further and to ascertain the views of Bank members on the desirability of establishing the corporation. The Council also examined other aspects of the Bank's work in helping to finance economic development, the more important of which are discussed below.

Finally the Council provided for the study of another way of attracting private capital to underdeveloped areas by requesting its Fiscal Commission to examine the possibility of taxing the income from business investment only in the countries where the income is earned.

Since raising the level of productivity around the world is essential to economic development, the Council, under United States leadership, considered ways by which increases in productivity might be obtained and made various recommendations to member states, designed to encourage and facilitate more efficient use of their human, natural, industrial, and technological resources. The Council also requested the Secretariat to prepare a study on ways of meeting the various problems involved in rapid industrialization of underdeveloped countries. (See also the discussion below of International Labor Organization activities directed toward increasing labor productivity.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

Late in 1952 the General Assembly at its seventh session approved the work of the Economic and Social Council. The Council was requested to present to the eighth session of the Assembly the detailed plan for the special fund to assist in financing economic development and to keep the Assembly informed of progress in regard to the proposal for an international finance corporation. In recognition of the importance of stimulating the international flow of private capital to underdeveloped countries, the Assembly requested the Council to give early attention to the steps that might be taken to stimulate the flow of such capital into economic development.

Over the opposition of the more developed countries, the Assembly adopted, in connection with the problem of economic development, a resolution looking to the establishment of fair and equitable international prices for primary commodities as compared with manufactured goods. This action reflected a feeling by many countries that the producers of raw materials often bear the brunt of pressure on prices during recessions and are prevented from fully benefiting during periods of high demand by action on the part of the large importing countries to hold down prices. In opposing this action, the United States representative pointed to the relatively favorable position at present enjoyed by raw materials, to the favorable prospects for the future, to the lack of any objective yardstick for determining what is a fair and equitable set of international price relationships, and to the implications of government control over production, trade, and prices inherent in the proposal.

The Assembly also debated and adopted by a vote of 36 to 4 (United States), with 20 abstentions, a resolution on the "Right To Exploit Freely National Wealth and Resources," which dealt with nationalization. The resolution recommends (1) that member states, in the exercise of this right, have due regard to the need for maintaining the flow of capital in conditions of security, mutual confidence, and international economic cooperation; (2) that member states refrain from acts designed to impede the exercise of the sovereignty of any state over its natural resources. This Assembly action developed out of an attempt by some countries to have the United Nations recognize the right of its members to nationalize their domestic resources and to extend protection to the exercise of this right. The resolution took its final form after many countries had opposed the original proposal on the grounds that the right of nationalization was already recognized in international law and after the matter had attracted considerable notice in the United States financial press and among business groups. At the last minute an Indian amendment was adopted by a large vote, laying stress on the "need for maintaining the flow of capital in conditions of security."

The United States opposed the resolution on a number of grounds, including its failure to give adequate attention to the obligations that governments that decide to nationalize property have to investors in the nationalized enterprises. Other countries opposed or abstained on the resolution because they felt it was not only unnecessary but possibly harmful to the flow of private capital to underdeveloped countries. When set against the Indian amendment, the general support given to the previously mentioned Assembly action designed to encourage the international flow of private capital, and the statements of many countries voting for the resolution that no change in their

attitude toward private enterprise was involved, this Assembly action apparently does not necessarily foreshadow any further significant moves toward nationalization as an instrument of economic policy. However, the United States still feels that the resolution was undesirable and has continued to oppose any new initiatives along this line.

Throughout the discussions of the problem of economic development, the United States representative emphasized that the American people were aware of the problems of the underdeveloped countries and the magnitude of the job still to be done. He recognized that many of the underdeveloped countries would continue to require some measure of external assistance and pledged the support of the United States in efforts to expedite their economic development and to secure continued expansion of the world economy.

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

During 1952 the International Bank continued to extend financial and technical assistance for economic development. New loans amounting to over $292,000,000 were made to Australia, Brazil, Colombia, Finland, Iceland, India, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Southern Rhodesia, and Turkey. These brought the total of loans made by the Bank since the beginning of its operations to $1,524,266,000.

The Bank's contribution to worldwide economic development may also be seen from some of the main purposes for which its loans were made:

Transportation. One of the basic requirements to allow and encourage expansion in trade and production is better transportation facilities. In 1952 the Bank helped finance railway construction and development in Colombia and Pakistan, port development in Peru, and the purchase of civilian aircraft in the Netherlands.

Electric Power. More electric power is a fundamental requirement for the expansion of production and achievement of better living standards in underdeveloped areas. The Bank financed electric power projects in Brazil, Finland, Mexico, Turkey, and Southern Rhodesia.

Agriculture. The need to expand food production around the world has been recognized as one of the critical problems of our time. The Bank made loans for agricultural development to Finland, Iceland, Pakistan, Peru, and Turkey.

The Bank continued to provide technical assistance to its members on a wide variety of problems. The principal arrangement in this regard continued to be the general survey mission—a group of experts

especially organized to make a firsthand study of a country's resources and formulate recommendations designed to serve as the basis of a long-term development program. In addition the Bank made available specialists to advise on particular development problems, such as the stimulation of capital markets and the organization of development corporations, and assisted in the recruitment of experts to serve in member countries as economic and financial advisers.

Four new members were admitted to the Bank during 1952: Burma, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and Jordan.

Full Employment

Civilian employment in 1951 and 1952 remained at high levels in most countries. The world employment situation as such was, therefore, not a controversial issue at the 1952 session of the Economic and Social Council.

Representatives of the Soviet Union, of course, charged that there was vast unemployment in the United States and in Western Europe, alleging that there were 13,000,000 unemployed in the United States alone. As a matter of fact United States employment was at the highest level in history and unemployment at the lowest peacetime level in many, many years. With the exception of Italy, the volume of unemployment in the Western European countries also remained low. Nevertheless it had increased enough percentagewise to cause a certain amount of uneasiness. Refutation of the Soviet charges in no way discouraged Soviet representatives from later reiteration of these same charges, both at the General Assembly and in other United Nations forums.

As in 1951 the United States Government had submitted a comprehensive reply to the Council's questionnaire concerning full employment objectives, policies, and measures for the period 1951–52. The average of the replies of other governments was more informative than in the preceding year, but the replies were not received early enough to permit an analysis of them to be made in time for consideration by the Council. The United States felt that an analysis by the Secretary-General should be available and helped secure passage of a resolution, urging governments to submit timely and adequate replies in the future so that the Secretariat could prepare the kind of documentation essential to proper Council consideration of the full employment problem.

Fear of unemployment was the original motivation for the annual discussion of full employment by the Economic and Social Council. The high employment levels of recent years, however, have focused attention also on a totally different aspect of the problem: how to

reconcile the attainment and maintenance of full employment with avoidance of the harmful effects of inflation. The Council agreed to look into this question further during 1953.

The most important document before the Council during its full employment discussion in 1952 was a report entitled *Measures for International Economic Stability*, prepared by a group of experts (including a distinguished American economist) appointed by the Secretary-General. It was directed to some of the employment problems of the underdeveloped countries, particularly those whose foreign exchange earnings are obtained through the export of one or two commodities and whose economies are thus vulnerable to fluctuations in international commodity markets. Since the achievement of greater stability in commodity markets, however, is much more than an employment problem, this issue is discussed in the present report under the heading "Commodity Problems."

Increasing the Productivity of the Land

One of the grimmest facts of 1952 is that food production is not keeping pace with the growth in population. Although total world food production has increased over the prewar period, this increase took place largely in the countries already having the highest level of nutrition. In many areas of the world, such as Asia and the Near East, where nutrition levels were already low, the food supply per capita has actually declined. The efforts of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the principal agency concerned with bringing about a substantial increase in world food production, were therefore directed during 1952 toward helping governments to achieve the goal of an annual food increase of 1 to 2 percent over the rate of population growth. FAO's activities are concerned with all branches of agricultural production, forestry, fisheries, and nutrition. An especially high priority is being given to programs to eliminate or control animal diseases and to increase crop yields. For example, a major activity of FAO is to increase rice yields in Asia through a regional program of rice research involving hybridization and use of fertilizers, through improvements in rice milling and processing, and through training programs for rice breeders throughout the region. All Asian countries from Japan to India are taking part in this work, and the United States, as an important rice producer, is also active in the program. In this context the United Nations and its specialized agencies undertook to promote international cooperation with respect to three other food and agricultural problems; namely, land reform, famine relief, and water-resource development.

LAND REFORM

The General Assembly at its 1952 session recommended to United Nations members that they take every possible step on the national and regional level to expedite the carrying out of land-reform programs, as defined in earlier resolutions of United Nations organs and agencies. This concern for the progress of land reform was also reflected in the work programs of the specialized agencies in 1952 and particularly that of FAO.

One of the most important factors in promoting political stability and economic improvements is the development of a system of land-ownership or land tenure that insures the greatest possible security and opportunity to the man on the land. In many parts of the world oppressive tenure and taxation systems have for centuries denied to individuals any chance to own land or to earn a decent living from the land. This lack of opportunity has recently been exploited by the Communists with promises of quick relief through alleged "land reforms." Land reform, however, in order to be effective and of lasting value to the individual farmer, must be more than mere land redistribution or consolidation of fragmented holdings; it must also include the assurance of satisfactory tenure arrangements, adequate credit facilities, the provision of agricultural extension and educational facilities, the establishment of suitable marketing and purchasing arrangements, equitable taxation, and the development of rural industries.

The United States, in association with many free nations both in the West and in the Orient, has met the Communist challenge in the United Nations by promoting measures to bring about genuine land reforms, which are sound both on economic grounds and from the point of view of individual freedom. United States and United Nations agencies have been rendering technical assistance in this field when so requested, and it is significant that in 1952 the movement toward genuine land reform was considerably speeded up in a number of countries, notably Italy, Iran, Egypt, and India.

In accordance with a resolution of the Economic and Social Council in 1951, the Secretary-General in 1952 sent to all United Nations members a comprehensive questionnaire on land reform, prepared in cooperation with the specialized agencies concerned. This questionnaire requested information on progress in land reform, including legislation and other measures adopted, any obstacles to the adoption of such measures, and any suggestions concerning international action to promote land reform. The information derived from the replies to this questionnaire will be the basis for recommendations to the Council in 1954. It will be the first time that such comprehensive

material has ever been available on a worldwide basis. This questionnaire is significant, moreover, not only for the worldwide information it will provide but also because it will require each government to reexamine its own legislation and agrarian institutions and report publicly on them in a world forum.

FOOD AND FAMINE

Quite distinct from the long-term problem of the world's perennial food shortage is the problem of acute famine emergencies arising out of natural disasters, such as floods, droughts, and earthquakes. Prompt and concerted action is often required to stave off mass starvation as a result of these disasters. The 16th session of the Council of FAO in November 1952 had before it the report of a working group on various methods through which an international emergency food reserve might operate. The Council decided that the financial implications needed further study and established a committee of financial experts, which will submit its report to the 1953 session of the Conference of FAO. Meanwhile, in compliance with a resolution of the General Assembly at its sixth session, the Secretary-General prepared a report on measures that might be taken by international organizations, governments, and voluntary agencies to coordinate relief to countries stricken by famine. On the basis of this report the Economic and Social Council in June 1952 made recommendations concerning advance arrangements by potential recipient countries for relief operations and, on the initiative of the United States, encouraged the utilization of voluntary agencies.

WATER CONTROL AND UTILIZATION

The volume of water in existence today is the same as it was 10,000 years ago, but the population of the world is currently increasing at the rate of 80,000 every day. At the same time expanding industries and more extensive agricultural production has proportionately increased the demands for water. In the interest of future economic development, therefore, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have undertaken various activities relating to the control and utilization of water. For example, the Bureau of Flood Control of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East is making advisory services available to Far Eastern nations. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has initiated research on arid zone problems. FAO is working toward getting fuller utilization of water resources for irrigation and food production. The World Health Organiation has done significant work in regard to

environmental sanitation. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has made extensive loans for power development and related water-utilization facilities. There have also been important achievements by nongovernmental organizations and by governments, with assistance in some cases from international agencies, in such fields as navigation, meteorology, fisheries, municipal water supply, power, agriculture, hydraulics, hydrology and geography, and drainage.

The 1952 session of the Economic and Social Council had before it a comprehensive review, prepared by the Secretary-General on the basis of a United States suggestion to the Council in 1951, of the activities of all United Nations agencies concerned with water control and utilization. The Council adopted a resolution, introduced by the United States in association with the Philippines, that forms the basis for an integrated program of water control and utilization for all such agencies. The resolution endorses the "multiple purpose" approach to water-resource development. It urges governments and international agencies to take into account in their planning such multiple-purpose uses and recommends that the Secretary-General assume responsibility for promoting consultations with all specialized agencies and competent nongovernmental organizations, with a view to promoting more effective collection and distribution of water data and joint program planning and also to insuring that the activities of these agencies take fully into account the multiple uses of water.

International Trade and Finance

The maintenance of an expanding world economy, with widespread opportunity for the achievement of rising standards of living, implies vigorous sponsorship by the United Nations and specialized agencies of a variety of programs, in addition to those that have already been mentioned, because of their direct connection with the development of underdeveloped areas. These additional programs, in the field of international trade and finance, continued during 1952 to be of major interest to the United States.

Particularly important have been the efforts to move toward a multilateral trade and payments system by the contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and by the members of the International Monetary Fund. To some extent this movement has been hampered by frequent and sharp fluctuations in the prices of primary commodities. Commodity problems consequently bulked large in United Nations discussions during 1952. With respect to restrictive business practices that have harmful effects on the expansion of production or international trade, further progress has been

made toward implementing the resolution introduced by the United States and adopted by the Economic and Social Council during the summer of 1951.

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT)

The contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) held their seventh session at Geneva, Switzerland, between October 2 and November 10, 1952, to deal with trade problems of common concern. The General Agreement, while not a United Nations instrument, was negotiated under United Nations auspices and is the principal international arrangement through which 34 countries, including 28 United Nations members, have been working to increase international trade through the reduction of tariffs and other trade restrictions. Tariff negotiations were not undertaken at the 1952 session, although two contracting parties, the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria, did profit by the occasion to enter into bilateral tariff negotiations of their own, the results of which were later to be incorporated into the agreement.

Among the principal items of business of the session was the agreement of the contracting parties to waive provisions of the General Agreement to the extent necessary to permit France, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg to fulfill their treaty obligations as members of the European Coal and Steel Community (the so-called Schuman Plan). In general, so far as coal and steel products are concerned, the rights and obligations of these governments as parties to the General Agreement, whether acting singly or as the Community, are to be the same as if they were a single contracting party whose customs territory included the European territories of these states. Provisions were also made for appropriate relationships between the high authority of the Community and the contracting parties.

Consultations were undertaken with seven contracting parties on import restrictions that they were applying for the purpose of safeguarding their balance of payments and their monetary reserves, and provision was made for additional consultations after the session. The United States and Canada had questioned the justification for Belgian imposition of new import restrictions against dollar products, and this problem was resolved provisionally with Belgium's announcement that it would soon undertake a significant relaxation of these restrictions. The contracting parties found that United States import restrictions against cheese and other dairy products under section 104 of the Defense Production Act impaired benefits due to other parties under the agreement and authorized the Netherlands, which

sought compensatory action, to reduce its imports of wheat flour from the United States.

A panel on complaints was established for the first time at the 1952 session, and it dealt successfully with a number of disputes involving charges of violation of the General Agreement or impairment of rights.

In response to resolutions referred to it by the International Chamber of Commerce, the contracting parties prepared and referred to governments for their acceptance a convention providing for duty-free entry of samples and certain advertising matter and approved codes of standard practices and recommendations on documentary requirements and consular practices.

At the 1952 session the contracting parties approved a resolution recognizing that Japan, which had notified the contracting parties of its desire to accede to the agreement, should take its rightful place in the community of trading nations and thus should be admitted to appropriate international arrangements. An intersessional committee was then charged with studying the timing and conditions under which Japan might negotiate for accession.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

The International Monetary Fund continued during 1952 to assist its members with the problems involved in moving toward a multilateral system of trade and payments and toward convertibility of currencies. Important activities of the Fund related to (1) more effective use of its resources, (2) discussions with member countries of possible measures by which exchange restrictions might be eliminated or modified, and (3) technical assistance.

In order that it might be a more effective instrument of financial assistance, the Fund took action to insure that, in fact, its resources would be employed by member countries only to meet temporary balance-of-payments difficulties and that members would return resources obtained from the Fund within a 3- to 5-year period. The Fund also established procedures, known as standby arrangements, designed to give assurances that, after consideration of a member's request for assistance and during a definite period, assistance up to a specified amount would be available from the Fund's resources without further consideration of the member's financial problems and position, unless the ineligibility provisions of the Fund agreement were specifically invoked against that member.

In May 1952 the Fund issued its *Third Annual Report on Exchange Restrictions.* In addition to surveying the exchange restrictions in force around the world, the report dealt with the consultations that

are to be carried on annually by the Fund pursuant to article XIV of the Fund Agreement requiring the initiation of annual consultations between member countries and the Fund on the further retention of exchange restrictions. In this connection the Fund observed that—

> It sees the initiation of the consultations as the beginning of a process through which there can be provided not only a review with the countries concerned of the restrictions now being used but also the means of the Fund's obtaining a better understanding of the situation in the member countries on which the basis may be laid for closer international collaboration and cooperation in the monetary field. During these consultations it is hoped that in many cases ways and means may be found for adapting or eliminating restrictions and for assisting members in overcoming the basic financial and economic difficulties leading to the use of restrictions.

The Fund continued to extend technical assistance to member countries through visiting missions and training programs. Its technicians were made available for such purposes as assistance in drafting new banking legislation and reviewing policies and practices bearing on exchange rates and exchange controls. The Fund also assisted member countries on problems of banking and fiscal reform in relation to foreign exchange policy, as well as in the collection and interpretation of balance of payments and other statistical data.

Four countries—Burma, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and Jordan—became members of the Fund during 1952.

INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY PROBLEMS

The decline in a number of commodity prices during 1951 sharpened the interest of governments in greater use of international agreements as a means of stabilizing prices. When the Economic and Social Council discussed commodity problems at its 1952 session, it did not make the formal review of principles and procedures that had been scheduled for this session but concentrated upon the more immediate issue of whether more should be done to negotiate actual agreements under existing procedures. The countries that are primarily exporters of raw materials and importers of manufactured goods also sought support for their view that maintenance of a stable and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials and manufactured goods should be an objective of United Nations policy.

Chief among the documents directing the Council's attention to commodity agreements was the report on *Measures for International Economic Stability*, referred to earlier in the section on full employment. While believing that the long-term outlook for prices of primary commodities was favorable, the United Nations experts recognized that severe short-term fluctuations could be harmful, and they advocated commodity agreements as a partial remedy. In the nego-

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tiation of agreements restriction of production should be avoided wherever possible, they said, and there should be no attempt to interfere with the long-term trend in prices. A commodity-by-commodity approach should be used; and for this, in the opinion of the experts, the present machinery would prove adequate.

In the Council's discussion there was general endorsement of these views, with, however, some delegations from the less industrialized countries favoring an extension of the concept of international stabilization arrangements to cover the relationship between prices of raw materials and manufactured products. Some countries opposed favorable mention of international commodity agreements without reference to this broader type of arrangement. It was in part because of this position that the Council's final resolution on international economic stability omitted any recommendation that governments give immediate consideration to entering into intergovernmental commodity agreements. The United States abstained from approving the resolution on the ground that omission of such a recommendation seemed inconsistent with the desire for wider use of commodity agreements expressed by many countries and with their general endorsement of the experts' views.

The Argentine resolution to promote the "financing of economic development through establishment of fair and equitable international prices for primary commodities," which was passed by the General Assembly at its seventh session over the opposition of the United States and other industrially developed countries, is discussed above in the section on the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

INTERNATIONAL STUDY GROUPS

There are a number of international groups, comprised of both exporting and importing countries, that keep the situation in specific individual commodities under continuous review. Study groups, or their equivalent under other names, now exist in tin, rubber, cotton, wool, and sugar. In accordance with accepted procedures it is through these groups, or others like them that may be created, that recommendations for international commodity agreements may be developed.

In 1952 studies with respect to a possible agreement were carried forward in the rubber, cotton, and sugar groups. In rubber and cotton, only the initial question of whether a practicable agreement could be devised was examined. The International Sugar Council, however, prepared a draft of a new agreement and asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations to call a world conference in 1953 to consider it.

The International Wheat Council differs from the other groups mentioned in that it administers an actual agreement, the only international commodity agreement now operative. The International Wheat Agreement will expire at the end of July 1953, and in 1952 the Council started preparations for its possible renewal.

RESTRICTIVE BUSINESS PRACTICES

The Economic and Social Council's *Ad Hoc* Committee on Restrictive Business Practices held three sessions in 1952: from January 29 to February 6 in New York, from April 28 to May 9 in New York, and from September 8 to 26 in Geneva. The Committee was set up under a Council resolution of September 13, 1951, and consists of the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Canada, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Sweden, France, and Uruguay.

The United States, in introducing the subject in the Economic and Social Council, had pointed out that international cartels could thwart national and collective efforts to raise standards of living, to reduce inflationary pressures, to increase international trade, and to improve productivity. The Council's resolution recommended that United Nations members cooperate with each other and take appropriate measures to prevent business practices affecting international trade that restrain competition, limit access to markets, or foster monopolistic control, whenever such practices have harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade, on the economic development of underdeveloped areas, or on standards of living. It called upon the *Ad Hoc* Committee to prepare and submit to the Council by March 1953 proposals on methods to be adopted by international agreement for implementing this recommendation.

In its three sessions the Committee occupied itself with two major tasks. The first was to agree on substantive articles setting forth those practices having potentially harmful effects on international trade and on provisions for drawing practices of this nature to the attention of members, when such harmful effects are found to exist. The Committee based this work on chapter V of the Havana Charter for an international trade organization, as required by the Council resolution. The second task was to devise machinery for implementing the substantive agreement. This involved the type of secretariat to conduct the work and the division of responsibilities as between governmental representatives and the secretariat.

The Committee's recommendations will be submitted to the 1953 summer session of the Economic and Social Council. While they will represent the consensus of the Committee, they will not be binding on governments. A factual report, prepared under the Committee's

guidance on restrictive business practices affecting international trade and on measures taken by individual states to eliminate them, will be submitted to the Council at the same time.

Transport and Communications

United Nations bodies and specialized agencies continued their efforts during 1952 to facilitate the international movement of goods and persons and to improve transport and communications facilities and operations. The specialized agencies particularly concerned were the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Meteorological Organization, and the Universal Postal Union. In addition the Economic Commissions for Europe and for Asia and the Far East, as described in an earlier section of this report, continued their work toward facilitating international transport through simplification and standardization of formalities involved in the clearance of passengers and goods moving across national boundaries in their respective regions. Toward this same end the World Health Organization promulgated new international sanitary regulations looking toward uniformity in the documentation and inspection of passengers and goods for health purposes. In all of these fields the United States has been especially active because of the benefits that accrue to the American public.

MARITIME MATTERS

A sufficient number of countries had ratified the International Convention on Safety of Life at Sea, drawn up in London in 1948, to bring that convention into force on November 19, 1952, as between the 18 countries that had ratified. Another important agreement, Rules for Preventing Collisions at Sea, also drawn up in London in 1948, has now been ratified by 32 countries and will enter into force on January 1, 1954. Both of these are revisions of earlier agreements and are designed to offer greater protection and safety for passengers and cargoes as well as for the vessels themselves.

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

During 1952 the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) continued its important work in the development of international standards, recommended practice, and procedures for air navigation. It completed the revision of its international standards for "Facilita-

tion of International Air Transport," and the results achieved in simplifying and standardizing formalities for the international carriage of persons and property by air may be expected to have a beneficial effect on other forms of transport. Previous ICAO standards for personnel licensing, aeronautical maps and charts, operation of scheduled aircraft, air worthiness of aircraft, aeronautical telecommunications, and search and rescue were revised. These new standards and recommended practices are designed to promote the safety, efficiency, and economy of international air transport. ICAO has also been concerned with eliminating critical deficiencies in international air navigation facilities which impose limits on operations or economic burdens on international air carriers. ICAO's work along these and numerous other lines has benefited United States carriers as well as the traveling public.

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) is concerned with facilitating international telecommunications by radio, telegraph, and telephone. One of ITU's major tasks, the establishment of conditions for the orderly use of the radio spectrum, was considerably advanced during 1952 by the work of its International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB). This Board, consisting of 11 radio engineers representative of all regions of the world, began to carry out the important technical duties entrusted to it under an agreement signed by 63 countries in December 1951 at the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference held in Geneva. The work to be performed by this Board, together with implementation of the 1951 agreement by the signatory governments, constitutes a major step in bringing order into the frequency spectrum despite attempts by the U.S.S.R. and its satellites to block these constructive efforts.

Various other organs of ITU were concerned during 1952 with important technical studies for the improvement of telecommunications. For example, a plan for the assignment of television and broadcasting frequencies was developed for the European region, and continuing studies were made on the possibilities of international television program exchange.

The Plenipotentiary Conference of ITU meets every 5 years to review the activities of the Union and to take decisions affecting the work of the organization as a whole. The last conference, which was held in Buenos Aires, October–December 1952, revised the Atlantic City Convention of 1947 and adopted recommendations and resolutions concerning the Union's general organizational and administrative work.

WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

Promotion of the international exchange of vital weather information for aeronautics, agriculture, business, and industry continued as the major function of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in 1952. Much of the work of this organization is done through meetings of regional associations and technical commissions. For example, the technical Commission for Maritime Meteorology made decisions during 1952 concerning the establishment of uniform procedures for combining marine meteorological data, the standardization of visual storm-warning systems, the collection of weather observations by radio from ships of all nations, and the issuance by national meteorological services of daily weather and storm-warning bulletins for broadcast to ships on the high seas. The Regional Association for Europe, which met in Zürich May 26 to June 8, 1952, prepared recommendations for the guidance of European countries with respect to such matters as weather observations and facilities and procedures for communicating and distributing weather information.

UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

Work on the improvement of various postal services was continued by the Universal Postal Union (UPU) through the revision of its convention and regulations. The Congress of the Universal Postal Union, which convenes every 5 years, met in Brussels in May–July 1952 to review and revise the convention and regulations adopted at Paris in 1947. A number of new regulations were adopted, which are designed to facilitate international postal services, both air and surface. The United States took a leading part in this Congress as well as in the meeting of the Executive and Liaison Committee of UPU at Bern in January 1952.

Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation

The problems presented by the Palestine refugees in the Near East and by the devastation resulting from the Communist aggression in Korea are of such magnitude that they cannot be fully met by the local authorities or through the activities of permanent international agencies. The United Nations therefore continued in 1952 its emergency relief and rehabilitation programs in these two areas.

PALESTINE REFUGEES

At the end of 1952, more than 4 years after Arab-Israel hostilities in Palestine, over 800,000 refugees from the part of Palestine that is now Israel continued to be wholly or partly dependent for their subsistence on the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), according to the report of its director, John B. Blandford, Jr. (United States). These refugees live in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, with a few thousand in Iraq. More than half are in Jordan, where they constitute over one-third of the total population of that country. Approximately one-third of all of the refugees are huddled in camps maintained by UNRWA. The remainder have by one means or another found shelter in cities and villages throughout the area. Most of their clothing has been furnished by church and charitable groups in the United States and other countries in response to appeals for assistance. Despite these conditions the health of the refugee population is reasonably good, thanks to the health and medical services provided by the United Nations and to the basic ration issued.

The major objective of UNRWA, however, is not to furnish relief but to stimulate opportunities for employment so that the refugees may once again become self-sustaining. This is a formidable task in the Arab countries, where development opportunities are limited and where there is underemployment of their own peoples. It is further complicated by the attitude of the refugees themselves, whose longing to return to their former homes in Palestine has diminished but little during the passing years.

In January 1952 the sixth session of the General Assembly approved a 3-year $250,000,000 program looking toward expenditures of $200,000,000 for reintegration and $50,000,000 for relief. Considerable progress has been made during the past year in negotiations between UNRWA and the Arab governments for the improvement of refugee living conditions. UNRWA's program embraces a variety of activities: helping refugees find employment where there is need for their services; training refugees for occupations where there is a shortage of trained workers; making loans or grants to refugees to help them establish small businesses or trades; establishing rural villages in areas where land is available for cultivation; developing agricultural lands through well drilling, irrigation works, access roads, and the like. Through these and related activities ration rolls were somewhat reduced during 1952. As of November 30 there were 851,000 registered refugees, while only 810,000 full rations were issued. On the other hand the refugee population is not static. It increased during the year by 25,000.

UNRWA has devoted much of its effort during the past year to the planning, location, and negotiation of projects with the Arab governments. These negotiations have embraced a few large-scale projects, which would furnish economic opportunities for substantial numbers of refugees. Water development and irrigation schemes, however, require time to plan and to construct and consequently do not make possible an immediate reduction in relief rolls. The General Assembly on November 6, 1952, recognized this difficulty and approved an UNRWA request to increase the relief budget from the initial estimate of $18,000,000 for fiscal year 1953 to $23,000,000. This reallocation of funds, however, did not involve any increase in the size of the program.

This large-scale program has been financed by voluntary contributions from United Nations members and nonmembers. From the beginning of the relief program in the autumn of 1948 through June 1952, 47 governments had contributed funds, supplies, or services amounting to approximately $157,000,000. In addition a large number of private philanthropic and religious groups have contributed essential supplies, such as clothing and educational materials, as well as cash, with a total value of over $4,000,000. The United States has actively supported this United Nations program, the success of which is vitally important to the political stability of the Near East. Of the total pledged or contributed by governments to the entire program from its inception through June 1952, the United States contributions amounted to $93,450,000 or approximately 60 percent.

KOREAN RELIEF

The fighting in Korea has brought intense suffering to its civilian population, millions of whom have been uprooted from their homes and left without the means of livelihood. Food, shelter, and clothing have had to be provided for them and steps taken to combat illness and disease among them. Their tragic plight has been further aggravated by the enormous destruction of economic resources and physical facilities that always accompanies modern warfare. These consequences of its decision to resist aggression had been clearly foreseen by the United Nations, and the Security Council on July 31, 1950, only a little over a month after the aggression began, made the United States, as the Unified Command, responsible for the organization and administration of emergency relief and rehabilitation in Korea. In the same resolution the Council also asked United Nations members, the specialized agencies, and nongovernmental organizations to contribute to this essential work.

The Unified Command, operating through the United Nations Civil Assistance Command in Korea (UNCACK), continued during 1952 to exercise its responsibility for the administration of emergency civilian relief in such fields as medical aid, food, clothing, shelter, and minimal rehabilitation. By the end of the year contributions to this program since the outbreak of hostilities had totaled $358,300,293. Of this sum $321,688,005 was contributed by the United States Government, $17,389,927 by other United Nations members and by nonmembers, $1,788,683 by the specialized agencies, $16,527,895 by voluntary organizations, and $905,783 by Red Cross societies. Appendix I contains a more specific breakdown of these contributions.

The United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA), created by the General Assembly in December 1950 "to assist the Korean people to relieve the sufferings and to repair the devastation caused by aggression and to lay the necessary economic foundations for the political unification and independence of the country," has continued under the directorship of J. Donald Kingsley (United States) to work closely with the Unified Command. UNKRA will assume full responsibility for relief and rehabilitation activities in Korea 180 days after cessation of hostilities and is already preparing for this task. However, while hostilities are still in progress, the agency is undertaking a limited reconstruction program. In addition to furnishing the Republic of Korea with technical advice, it is assisting UNCACK in its relief operations and supplementing those operations with economic projects that do not interfere with military requirements.

In agreement with the Unified Command and with the Republic of Korea, UNKRA embarked in November 1952 on a program of relief and rehabilitation calling for the obligation of $70,000,000 prior to July 1, 1953. This program embraces categories of relief and rehabilitation in the fields of food and agriculture, $6,900,000; industries, $10,650,000; power, $7,100,000; transport and communications, $7,500,000; natural resources, $2,000,000; housing, $3,000,000; education, $8,000,000; health, sanitation and welfare, $2,500,000; relief and sustaining commodity imports, $14,000,000; employment and secondment of personnel to UNCACK, $2,500,000; support to voluntary agency programs, $500,000; and technical assistance projects, $350,000.

UNKRA has endeavored in its 1952–53 program to assist in (1) providing relief and sustaining commodity imports; (2) developing agriculture, fisheries, coastal shipping, and mining so as to minimize food import requirements and to maximize exportable surplus; (3) increasing the Korean production of goods and materials and making the maximum use of indigenous resources; (4) employing measures designed to counteract the inflationary tendencies resulting from the war conditions; (5) achieving economic conditions conducive to the

maintenance of economic and political stability; and (6) training Koreans in technical skills in the fields of agriculture, industry, public health, education, and public administration. UNKRA has employed and seconded for service with UNCACK 150 persons especially qualified to provide relief and rehabilitation assistance to the Korean people.

The United States has pledged $162,500,000 as its share of UNKRA's initial target budget of $250,000,000. The United States paid $10,000,000 on that pledge during 1952 and at the end of the year was processing an additional $25,000,000 payment, which was made on January 3, 1953.

LABOR, REFUGEES, AND MIGRATION

Current pressures for greater economic development in underdeveloped areas and for higher living standards by peoples everywhere have underscored the necessity of making the most effective use of labor forces if these demands are to be satisfied. During 1952 the International Labor Organization (ILO), other specialized agencies, and the United Nations had before them various aspects of this basic problem, including the improvement of labor conditions, the development of programs of practical action in the manpower field, and measures to increase productivity. A related problem was that of forced labor, which has become of serious concern in the past few years because of the prevalence of this new form of slavery behind the Iron Curtain. There was also still the problem of the refugees whom World War II and subsequent political developments have set adrift and whose return to a productive life is of major importance from both humanitarian and economic standpoints. At the same time the need in certain countries for additional population was again stressed when a resolution designed to facilitate migration was adopted at the seventh session of the General Assembly, in connection with its consideration of measures to encourage economic development.

Labor Standards and Improved Labor Conditions

The basic work of the International Labor Organization, which was established at the end of the First World War, covers a wide range of activities in such areas as vocational training, occupational safety and health, hours of work, labor standards in nonmetropolitan territories, employment services and practices, freedom of association, and collective bargaining. ILO is the only specialized agency of the United

Nations whose policy organs are composed of representatives of management and labor as well as of governments. In the annual International Labor Conference and in five tripartite committee meetings during 1952 on labor problems in industries or in occupations of international significance, leading representatives of management and labor from all parts of the world had the opportunity to exchange views on problems of common interest. These meetings also afforded the representatives of United States management and labor a valuable opportunity to explain the United States point of view on a variety of labor problems.

In the course of 1952 the International Labor Conference adopted three conventions for the consideration of member states—Standards of Maternity Protection, Minimum Standards of Social Security, and Holidays with Pay in Agriculture. The Maternity Convention was a revision of the Maternity Protection Convention of 1919, one of the six conventions adopted at the first International Labor Conference held in Washington, D. C., in 1919. It applies to women employed in industrial, nonindustrial, and agricultural occupations, subject to certain exceptions which may be made by any state ratifying the convention, and is directed primarily to the protection of the health and status of women during the period of maternity. The Social Security Convention brought together elements of previously adopted ILO conventions and recommendations into a single up-to-date statement of international standards, including provisions for old age, unemployment, employment injury, family allowances, maternity, sickness, medical care, invalidity, and survivors. It included a provision permitting a state that ratifies the convention to comply with only certain sections of it and to carry them out through certain types of private insurance. The Holidays with Pay Convention provides a pattern of machinery for introducing and administering paid vacations in agriculture but leaves any country ratifying the convention free to exempt certain types of agricultural operations. Unless a member state ratifies these conventions, it is not in any way bound by them.

Implementing a recommendation of its Committee on Indigenous Labor, the International Labor Organization in 1952 undertook a study of the living conditions and livelihood of forest-dwelling peoples. Its ultimate goal in this study is to facilitate the integration of from 8 to 10 million such people in Latin America and Asia into the national life of their countries. A meeting of Experts on the Protection of Young Workers in Asian Countries, held by the International Labor Organization in Ceylon in December 1952, produced a number of recommendations for the practical extension of vocational education and guidance in Asian countries. It also made recommendations for further ILO action in this field, which will be

considered by the 1953 Asian Regional Conference of ILO. In Geneva during October a joint ILO-World Health Organization Committee on Occupational Health studied measures to protect the health of workers in their places of employment, while in December a meeting of Experts on the Prevention and Suppression of Dust in Mining, Tunnelling, and Quarrying discussed important aspects of this world-wide problem and exchanged information on methods of eliminating the hazardous conditions it produced.

Special studies completed by ILO during the year included *Textile Wages*, *Labor Policies in the West Indies*, and *Conditions of Work in the Fishing Industry.*

Manpower

The accentuation of manpower problems in Europe since the last war and the increasing interest in the proper utilization of manpower in underdeveloped countries have resulted recently in a marked intensification of ILO action in the fields of employment-service promotion and vocational training and guidance. The major 1952 meeting on manpower problems was the Latin American Technical Manpower Conference held at Lima in December. While this Conference was not directed toward the adoption of resolutions for further action, it completed a report on current Latin American manpower needs, based on an exchange of information among the experts in attendance, and suggested programs for better utilization of manpower supply in relation to the economic development of Latin America.

One of the outstanding publications of ILO during the year was volume I of the *International Classification of Occupations for Migration and Employment Placement*, the product of several years of work and the first attempt to provide an international occupational classification. While designed primarily for use in international migration, it will also be a medium through which national occupational nomenclature and occupational systems may be matched on an international basis. An *International Guide to Employment Service Organizations* was also completed.

One of the most significant developments in 1952 was the strengthening of ILO's operational program, accentuated with the help of funds from the United Nations expanded technical assistance program. Over 100 technical assistance projects on employment service and vocational training and guidance in various countries were developed during 1952. One of the most extensive of these is in Yugoslavia, to which ILO is sending 44 instructor foremen to instruct in vocational training techniques in industry. In addition 377 workers are being placed in factories abroad for training in new methods. A large part of this program was under way before the end of the year.

Productivity

The importance of increasing the general level of economic activity in Europe after the war and the urgent concern of the underdeveloped areas for increasing their productive capacity and output have entailed the problem of increasing labor productivity. United Nations interest in this problem was expressed during 1952 by the adoption at the sixth session of the General Assembly of a resolution on methods to increase world productivity. This resolution emphasized the importance of close international cooperation in the best use of the world's manpower resources, natural resources, and productive equipment and requested the Economic and Social Council to study methods of increasing productivity, especially in underdeveloped areas, by the application of science.

The 14th session of the Economic and Social Council considered a study prepared by the Secretariat and a report on ILO activities in this field and after debate recommended that underdeveloped countries consider the establishment of national productivity centers and take full advantage of technical assistance available through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The Secretariat was requested to continue studies concerning productivity in underdeveloped countries, particularly in such fields as agriculture, manufacturing, mining, transport, the construction industries, and the distributive trades. Increased productivity in both the agricultural and nonagricultural fields was given a prominent place in the priority programs of the Economic and Social Council at its 1952 session.

Studies and activities designed to increase labor productivity also absorbed increasing ILO resources during the year. At a December meeting in Geneva of Experts on Productivity, methods of increasing productivity in manufacturing industries were considered, with special reference to human, occupational, and technical factors, and recommendations made that will help to guide the development of ILO's program in this field. One of the industrial committees, the Metal Trades Committee, stressed at a May session in Geneva the importance of good working conditions, adequate remuneration, and good human relations in any efforts to increase productivity.

Most of the projects in which ILO is rendering technical assistance are also concerned directly or indirectly with increasing productivity. An expert went to Israel in February 1952 on a 1-year mission to advise and work with the staff of the Israel Productivity Institution. One of the most important projects now under way is a study of systems of payment on the basis of results and productivity in the textile and engineering industries in India. In December 1952 a team of two outstanding experts in production engineering from the United Kingdom, assisted by an ILO staff member and two Indian experts,

began work in Bombay and Calcutta to analyze existing organization and methods of work, personnel classification, and wage scales in selected plants in the textile and engineering industries, preparatory to formulating suggestions to increase efficiency and productivity.

Forced Labor

The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labor, established jointly by the United Nations and the International Labor Organization in 1951 to study the nature and the extent of systems of forced labor throughout the world, held two further meetings in 1952, one at United Nations Headquarters in New York and the other in Geneva. E. Garcia-Sayan, a noted Peruvian lawyer, replaced Felix Fulgencio Palavicini of Mexico, who died early in 1952. Paal Berg of Norway and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India continued as the other two members, the latter serving as chairman.

The Committee, sitting in closed session, heard oral testimony from representatives of nongovernmental organizations, both national and international, and from private individuals on the existence of forced labor in various parts of the world. In addition these same organizations and individuals submitted documents supporting their evidence. Many of the individuals testified from personal experience in forced labor camps, particularly in those of the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

The United States on two separate occasions submitted to the Committee a large volume of documentary evidence on the existence of forced labor camps in the Soviet Union and its satellites. This evidence included Soviet laws and regulations and administrative documents pertaining to forced labor, translations of testimonies from a large number of Polish citizens on their experiences in forced labor camps (Anders Collection), official Soviet documents dealing with mass arrests and deportations to forced labor camps, interviews with eye witnesses, and affidavits from recent escapees. All this evidence points to the fact that forced labor is a significant feature of the Soviet economy and is practiced on a large scale.

The Committee has prepared a summary of the allegations that have been received against various countries, and these allegations have been sent confidentially to the governments concerned for comment. At its next meeting, to be held in April 1953 at Geneva, the Committee will review the allegations again in light of the comments submitted to it by the governments concerned. It will then draw its conclusions and make whatever recommendations it deems necessary to wipe out this inhuman system. The report will be considered by the Economic and Social Council and by ILO.

Refugees

While mass movements of European refugees slowed down with the termination of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) on January 31, 1952, assistance to refugees continued through the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and through the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe, established outside the United Nations system in December 1951. During the 4½ years of its existence the International Refugee Organization, established in 1947 as a temporary agency responsible for the care, legal protection, and repatriation or resettlement of refugees, had assisted over a million and a half persons uprooted from their homelands as a result of World War II and its aftermath. Of these, 72,834 persons had been repatriated, and 1,057,955 had been resettled, chiefly in Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, France, Israel, the United States, and Venezuela. Of the $406,867,295 received by the organization from member governments during its existence, the United States had contributed $237,116,355.

In terminating its operations, the International Refugee Organization made provision for certain refugee groups still in need of assistance. A group of 12,205 persons holding immigration visas and awaiting transport were turned over to the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee—renamed the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in October 1952—which assumed responsibility for the operation, in the overseas movement of migrants, of ships relinquished by IRO. The International Refugee Organization also made arrangements to continue for 6 months, under the administration of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the care and maintenance of 2,000 European refugees in mainland China and established a $500,000 trust fund, to be administered by the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee, for the future movement of such of these refugees as secure visas for resettlement in other countries. Residual sums realized during the course of IRO's liquidation made possible a revolving fund of $500,000, to be administered by the Committee, to assist in the permanent resettlement of refugees registered with IRO prior to February 15, 1952, who could not proceed by their own means or obtain the necessary aid from other assistance or migration programs. Additional grants were made as follows: $714,285 to the Displaced Persons Department of the Expellee Bank at Bonn, Germany; $840,575 to voluntary agencies which continue to give supplemental assistance to IRO residual refugees; $200,000 to be administered by the Allied Military Government, Trieste, for the resettlement of hard-core refugees out of Trieste; and $50,000 for assistance to IRO residual refugees in Greece and Turkey.

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

In anticipation of the termination of IRO, the General Assembly at its fifth session in 1950 established for a 3-year period the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees to take over from IRO responsibility for legal protection services for refugees and to seek final solutions for the problems of refugees. The High Commissioner, G. J. van Heuven Goedhart of the Netherlands, assumed his post on January 1, 1951, and by the end of 1952 branches of his office had been set up in Austria, in Belgium for the Benelux countries, in Colombia for Latin America, in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Athens for Greece and the Near East, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States. A joint office of the High Commissioner and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration was established in Hong Kong to continue the operation begun by IRO for the care and resettlement of European refugees who are now in mainland China. The High Commissioner also maintained close liaison with the International Labor Office, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and other international organizations, and with the voluntary agencies concerned with the welfare of refugees.

The High Commissioner concentrated his efforts during 1952 on the establishment of the United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund, on studies of the problem of refugee assimilation, and on programs that would facilitate the reestablishment of refugees. In these tasks he had the assistance of the Advisory Committee on Refugees, established by the Economic and Social Council in September 1951 at the request of the High Commissioner. This Committee, which is composed of the representatives of 15 governments, both members and nonmembers of the United Nations and on which the United States is represented, focused its attention during its second session in September 1952 on the problems of emergency relief and the economic integration or resettlement of refugees.

At its sixth session the General Assembly authorized the High Commissioner to appeal for funds to enable emergency aid to be given to the most needy groups among the refugees within his mandate. The United States, while wholeheartedly supporting the work of the High Commissioner, did not support this resolution, believing that the adequacy of unilateral relief measures available in the countries of residence should be more fully examined before steps were taken to obtain assistance through international funds. A goal of $3,000,000 was set by the High Commissioner for his Refugee Emergency Fund. Government pledges and contributions and private donations to the fund totaled approximately $760,000 by September 30, 1952. Of this amount $650,000 had been spent or allocated for aid to European refu-

gees now in mainland China, who were the concern of the High Commissioner, and the balance allocated to assistance programs for refugees in Germany, Austria, Greece, Italy, Trieste, and the Near East.

In its resolution noting the report of the High Commissioner on his activities during 1952, the General Assembly at its seventh session expressed the hope that further contributions would be made to the fund. This resolution also called upon all governments, specialized agencies, and intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations interested in migration to give to refugees under the High Commissioner's mandate every possible opportunity in and benefit from projects to promote migration, including such measures as would facilitate the transit, resettlement, and employment of refugees in occupations suitable to their training and skills. The United States voted for the resolution but reiterated that its vote implied no commitment to contribute to the emergency fund. The United States has, however, made a substantial contribution to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, which moved some 30,000 refugees in resettlement during the period February 1–December 31, 1952.

The High Commissioner's Office has endeavored to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of refugees wherever possible and, while not engaging in resettlement activities directly, has maintained close contact with governments, voluntary agencies, and intergovernmental organizations in promoting resettlement. Since means must be found for integrating in the communities in which they currently reside, refugees who cannot be repatriated or resettled, the High Commissioner in 1952 also tried to secure greater integration of refugees, particularly in Germany and Austria. To this end studies were undertaken and many conferences held with the governments concerned and the voluntary agencies, and while no specific plans had crystallized by the end of the year, the High Commissioner's efforts brought increasing public attention to the problem. The General Assembly at its seventh session, recognizing the heavy financial burdens involved in the unilateral execution of integration programs and the fact that such programs may be advanced through international assistance, invited the High Commissioner, in consultation with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to examine the situation with a view to exploring with the governments directly concerned what sources of international funds might be available and the most effective means by which such funds might be utilized.

The High Commissioner also received in 1952 a grant of $2,900,000 from the Ford Foundation as a contribution to the permanent solution of the refugee problem. These funds are not to be used for care and

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maintenance but for vocational training, youth, and educational and cultural programs that will assist in effecting the assimilation or establishment of refugees. These activities will be carried out through projects developed by qualified United States voluntary agencies, which will receive allocations from the fund at the discretion of the High Commissioner.

The question of transport assistance by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration to refugees of European origin outside Europe was raised by the High Commissioner at the third session of the Committee in June 1952. In answer to this question the Migration Committee at its fourth session in October agreed to lend its technical facilities where they exist to assist in the movement of European refugees in resettlement from areas outside Europe, subject to reimbursement from funds available from sources other than the Committee. The main source of such funds has been the IRO residual assets, and when these funds are exhausted, other resources will have to be found.

LEGAL PROTECTION

International action has proved necessary to secure a basic legal status and nondiscriminatory treatment for refugees until they acquire a new nationality. Legal protection services for refugees were first provided by the League of Nations and then by the International Refugee Organization and are a primary function of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Moreover, to advance and secure the legal protection of refugees, the United Nations convened a Conference of Plenipotentiaries in July 1951 to complete and to sign the convention relating to the status of refugees. This convention, which was opened for signature on July 28, 1951, has been signed by 19 governments and ratified by 1, 6 ratifications being required to bring it into effect.

The convention provides for essential rights and privileges of refugees and a guaranty of freedom from discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, or country of origin. Also incorporated in the convention are provisions dealing with the legal status of refugees and their rights with respect to work, housing, education, public relief, social security, freedom of movement, and access to the courts. While the United States took an active part in drafting the convention, the United States has not signed it since it was drafted primarily for the benefit of refugees in European countries, where their rights and privileges are based on reciprocity. Most of the benefits accorded refugees by the convention are provided under existing law and practice in the United States.

The United Nations had also referred the draft protocol relating to the status of stateless persons to the Conference of Plenipotentiaries for consideration. The Conference did not find it possible to give consideration to the draft protocol and referred the matter again to the United Nations for further study. The General Assembly at its seventh session asked the Secretary-General to communicate the provisions of the draft protocol to all governments invited to the Conference of Plenipotentiaries, to request their comments on those provisions of the convention relating to the status of refugees that they would be prepared to apply to the various categories of stateless persons, and to submit these comments to the Economic and Social Council. The General Assembly requested the Council to study, if possible at its 16th session in 1953, the text of the draft protocol in the light of the comments received, taking whatever action seemed useful in order that a text of the protocol may be opened for signature after the convention relating to the status of refugees has entered into force.

Migration

The General Assembly, in considering the problem of economic development in underdeveloped countries at its seventh session, adopted in December 1952 a resolution recommending that countries of emigration and immigration, whether or not member states of the United Nations, conclude bilateral or multilateral agreements with a view to the equipment, transfer, and resettlement of groups of emigrants, without racial or religious discrimination, as a part of their general economic development. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General, the specialized agencies, particularly the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and other international organizations to continue their active cooperation in the equipment, transfer, and technical training of groups of emigrants in emigration and immigration countries by giving such economic, financial, or administrative assistance as is consistent with their respective constitutional provisions.

United States support of this Assembly resolution was consistent with the United States active participation in the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration since its establishment in December 1951. This 22-member Committee was organized on the initiative of the United States, acting in accordance with legislative authority and the intent of the Congress, to arrange for the transport of migrants, for whom existing facilities are inadequate and who could not otherwise be moved, from certain European countries having surplus populations to countries overseas that offer opportunities for

resettlement. The Committee began operations on February 1, 1952, and as of December 31, 1952, had completed the movement of approximately 80,000 persons. Payments totaling $8,950,000 were made by the United States for the 11-month period of operations during 1952.

Technical assistance to immigration and emigration countries, in connection with the selection, training, reception, and placement of migrants, continued to be provided during 1952 by the International Labor Organization upon request.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ADVANCEMENT

Progress toward the solution of international social and cultural problems is as essential as greater economic development in meeting the widespread demand for higher living standards and in creating the stable conditions that are conducive to peace. Social and cultural advancement is therefore another major concern of the United Nations. During 1952 two specialized agencies, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), were at work in this field. A special body, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), continued its efforts on behalf of children, while the Economic and Social Council and the Secretariat pursued their continuing activities in the field of social welfare. The Council also pressed forward with its work on the control of narcotic drugs.

Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation

In April 1952 the United Nations released a study which had been requested by the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council entitled *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation.* This document presents for the first time a composite picture of the global social scene. Despite the fact that it is a preliminary picture, by the very assemblage of so vast an array of facts on human beings and how they live, the report makes a central contribution to the interrelated social and economic work of the United Nations system.

The picture presented is a dismal one, which challenges the best efforts of the United Nations and the specialized agencies as well as governmental and nongovernmental agencies. The study reveals, for example, that world food production as a whole is still too small to feed its growing population even as well as in prewar days. As regards housing, no country is without its housing problem, and there may be as many as 150 million families in the less developed areas in

need of better shelter and as many as 30 million families in the more developed areas. Three hundred million people still continue to suffer from malaria. In most of the Asian and Middle Eastern countries, per capita income is below $100 per year. At the same time the report states:

> . . . there has spread among impoverished peoples of the world an awareness—heightened by modern communications and movements of men—that higher standards of living not only exist for others but are possible for themselves. Fatalistic resignation to poverty and disease is giving way to the demand for a better life. The demand is groping and uncertain in direction, charged with conflicting emotions regarding the old and the new, but it is nonetheless a force that is establishing an irreversible trend in history.

This study will be particularly useful to the Social Commission and to the Economic and Social Council in planning further programs and in stimulating further action to ameliorate the conditions described.

World Health Organization

Recognizing that, in the final analysis, permanent progress in the field of health can be achieved only when peoples and their governments are prepared to carry forward their own essential public health programs, the World Health Organization has specifically directed its activities toward that end. While cooperating with governments in the development and operation of specific disease control programs, WHO has at the same time worked with governments to build effective health services within each of its member countries.

The advisory services that WHO provides may include sending one or more expert consultants to work with the government on specific health programs and on the development of adequate national and local health services; sending teams of international experts to demonstrate tested public health techniques against particular diseases, such as malaria and the venereal diseases; training by these experts of local technicians, who can carry these programs to additional areas; and providing fellowships and other training services to help in building the corps of trained technicians needed in any effective public health service.

The organization continued during 1952 to provide worldwide information about the occurrence of communicable diseases and to work for the adoption of uniform biological standards and an expansion of the information provided in the *International Pharmacopoeia*, which it issued last year. It also continued to operate its Tuberculosis Research Office in Copenhagen and its World Influenza Center in London, the latter the focal point for a voluntary association of influenza centers in various parts of the world concerned with detecting new epidemics, identifying viruses, and preparing vaccines. On October 1,

1952, the new International Sanitary Regulations developed by WHO became effective in most member states. These regulations, superseding outdated conventions, seek to provide minimum interference with world trade and travel, while giving maximum protection against the international spread of disease.

FIELD SERVICES

As the coordinating agency in the field of international public health, WHO during 1952 carried on a wide variety of field projects under its regular program and with the assistance of supplementary funds provided by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Fund. Malaria control projects continued to receive priority attention, not only because the disease is so widespread and its effects so serious in terms of human misery and reduced vitality but because successful control methods are known and can be applied with relative ease at moderate cost. In Afghanistan, for example, as a result of a DDT spraying project in 210 villages covering an area of 820 square miles, nearly 150,000 people were protected against malaria and were able for the first time in their memories to reap their harvests without illness, while the Government was enabled to push forward plans for economic expansion in two fertile valleys north of Kabul. As a result of this successful project, the Government decided to undertake independently in 10 new areas similar projects designed to protect an additional population of almost 400,000, this to be done by utilizing local personnel who had been trained by the international team. In the Tanjero Valley of Iraq, one of the most malarious areas of that country, a WHO team is demonstrating malaria control methods and training local personnel to form the nucleus of a national organization to continue and expand these control measures, in the hope not only of alleviating much of the suffering from this disease but also of facilitating agricultural progress in many parts of the country where malaria is now endemic.

In the period between July 1951, which marked the end of the International Tuberculosis Campaign, and June 1952, over 7,000,000 children and young adults have been tested for tuberculosis and over 3,000,000 of them vaccinated in the BCG antituberculosis program which WHO and UNICEF have been carrying on jointly. These agencies have also assisted countries in different regions of the world to set up new laboratories to produce the BCG serum needed for this worldwide program. In another type of attack against tuberculosis, a WHO team assisted the Turkish Government for a 2-year period, ending in the middle of 1952, in the establishment and operation of a tuberculosis demonstration and training center in Istanbul, which

provided advanced training to some 450 doctors and 500 nurses, vaccinated more than 10,000 children with BCG, and conducted X-ray examinations of some 60,000 persons. This work is being continued by the Turkish Government, which intends to expand it to the entire country.

During a 2-year period ending in December 1952, WHO conducted an antivenereal disease demonstration campaign in Egypt. During that time over 80,000 serological blood tests were made; more than 50,000 people were examined in clinics set up for this purpose, and those found to be infected were treated with penicillin. At the same time a team of Egyptians was being trained in mass venereal disease control methods. The WHO team is now being withdrawn, and the campaign will be continued by these local technicians who will, in turn, be training others. It is estimated that a bejel-syphilis campaign now under way in Iraq should bring this infection under control in that country in 3 years. While teams of doctors, serologists, and nurses, both international and Iraqi, were examining and treating persons throughout the country for bejel, team members often found themselves, in many of the outlying districts where doctors are scarce, also treating malaria, bilharziasis, dysentery, and other infections as well as teaching simple health education.

Insect control programs, directed against such diseases as malaria, yellow fever, and typhus, were undertaken by British Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua with WHO and UNICEF assistance. There were also many programs for the control of communicable diseases in operation in 1952 in the Western Hemisphere. A number of maternal and child health projects were being operated or assisted in Asia and the Near East, and projects for the control of yaws, being carried out with WHO and UNICEF assistance, had by the middle of 1952 reached a population of several million people.

WHO also provided emergency assistance to a number of countries during 1952. The organization sent experts, for example, to help health officials of the Sudan check an epidemic of cerebrospinal meningitis. As a result of assistance given to Afghanistan, a severe outbreak of typhus in that country was arrested. At the same time WHO is continuing to assist the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency in carrying on essential health work among the civilian population in South Korea and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in caring for the Palestine refugees.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

As the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) began its seventh year of operation on December 11, 1952,

scores of countries could point to permanent child welfare and health programs that have been initiated or strengthened with the help of UNICEF supplies. Since its inception the Executive Board of UNICEF has approved nearly $173,000,000 for child care programs. In 1952 over 17,000,000 children in 72 countries and territories benefited from UNICEF assistance. According to a recent statement from UNICEF, 4,800,000 children were vaccinated against tuberculosis; 4,200,000 were examined for yaws and syphilis and one-third treated; 7,000,000 were protected from malaria and 3,000,000 fed. The health programs were undertaken in cooperation with the World Health Organization. In all instances the administrative responsibility for the programs rests with the country, and UNICEF from the beginning has required that the assisted country at least match the value of its aid with locally available goods and services, thus encouraging the principle of self-help.

In December 1952 the seventh session of the General Assembly adopted unanimously a 13-power resolution appealing to governments and private individuals to contribute to UNICEF as generously as possible so that the goal of $20,000,000 in contributions from external sources for new or extended programs might be fulfilled for the benefit of the children of the world during 1953. The resolution pointed out that "because of its practical and material forms of aid, UNICEF is easily understood and invariably appreciated in all parts of the world and thus has become an outstanding symbol of constructive United Nations activities." A similar goal of $20,000,000 had been set by the 26-government Executive Board of UNICEF for 1952, but only $16,646,000 was obtained toward that goal through voluntary contributions from governments and other sources.

During 1952 the Executive Board at its meetings in April and in October approved aid in the amount of $8,884,000 for 80 long-range child care programs in 49 countries and territories. These long-range programs were primarily initiated or extended in the economically underdeveloped countries in Asia, the Eastern Mediterranean area, and Latin America. Aid in the amount of $1,000,000 was approved for the first time by the Executive Board for countries in Africa. In accordance with a 1950 resolution of the General Assembly, the trend of the fund's activities continued away from Europe for the second consecutive year.

UNICEF supplies and equipment in all instances continue to be accompanied by technical aid from either the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations, or the United Nations Department of Social Affairs. The objective of UNICEF and the specialized agencies and of the United Nations itself is to help the coun-

tries assisted to set patterns for administrative organization, financing, and education that will integrate child health and welfare services into the permanent structure of the local governments. By placing emphasis on programs of long-range benefit in underdeveloped areas where the need is greatest, the United Nations is endeavoring to hasten the evolution of improved conditions for mothers and children in ways that will have lasting value.

Seventy-five percent of the funds approved in 1952 for the 80 long-range programs were for supplies and equipment, not locally available, to assist governments in the establishment and development of their maternal and child welfare and training programs and for the combating of diseases affecting children. Child welfare centers in Asia and mass health campaigns against such diseases as yaws, malaria, and tuberculosis in Asia and Latin America received the greater part of these funds.

The Executive Board in 1952 also approved programs designed to help governments in meeting the needs of children arising from nutritional deficiencies. Supplemental foods to expand UNICEF-assisted school lunch programs in Latin and Central America and dried skim milk to assist countries in Africa in their fight against kwashoirkor, a disease suffered by children in that part of the world because of a deficiency in animal protein, were provided. Equipment for the extension of UNICEF's milk conservation program in the amount of $1,415,000 was approved for drying, pasteurization, and other methods of conservation to insure that more locally produced safe milk would be available for children.

In addition under a 1950 General Assembly authorization, the Executive Board in 1952 provided aid in the amount of $4,445,000 to governments on behalf of mothers and children affected by such unpredictable emergencies as typhoons in the Philippines and famines in Northern Brazil and India.

Examples of the long-range benefits of UNICEF aid to governments are many. Eight of the 13 war-devastated countries of Europe formerly receiving UNICEF's foodstuffs are now, as a result of UNICEF assistance with milk conservation projects, able to produce substantial quantities of safe milk to be distributed without fee or below prevailing market prices. In the Philippines today mothers can take their children to rural health clinics developed as an outgrowth of a training center aided by UNICEF until September 1951. In Sarawak, Borneo, attendance at a maternal and child health center formerly aided by UNICEF continues to rise. In Colombia mobile health teams are making a countrywide canvass immunizing children against diphtheria and whooping cough with vaccines produced in Bogotá at a UNICEF-equipped plant for which the World Health Organization provided technical advice. The assistance of international organiza-

tions is no longer required, and the campaign continues as a permanent part of the governments' maternal and child health services.

In June 1952 the Congress of the United States authorized for contribution to UNICEF through December 31, 1953, an amount not to exceed $16,481,000. Of this amount the Congress appropriated $6,666,667, which the United States contributed to UNICEF in December 1952, bringing the total United States Government contribution to $87,416,667 since the beginning of the program.

Social Welfare and Community Services

The United Nations also gives attention to assisting governments, particularly those in underdeveloped areas, to improve their social welfare and community service programs. These programs include such fields as family and child welfare, housing, rehabilitation of the handicapped, prevention and treatment of crime, and organization and administration of social welfare programs. Those activities that do not fall within the scope of the specialized agencies are carried out by the United Nations Secretariat in accordance with directives and policies established by the Economic and Social Council and its advisory body, the Social Commission.

FAMILY AND CHILD WELFARE

Many governments are seeking to improve their programs and legislation relating to family and child welfare. The establishment of national child welfare bureaus, administrative and legislative measures to protect children from neglect and exploitation, and the training of maternal and child welfare workers are but a few of the subjects on which governments seek the advice and assistance of the United Nations.

In response to this need United Nations social welfare advisers have been assigned to field operations in the Far East, the Middle East, the Caribbean, and certain regions of South America to work with government officials and to act in a liaison capacity with the specialized agencies and UNICEF. In addition family and child welfare experts are assigned to assist individual governments at their request. During the past year the following either received the services of expert advisers in this field, or their applications were under consideration: Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Israel, Libya, Pakistan, Panama, the Philippines, Thailand, and Trieste (Free Territory of).

Other types of assistance provided by the United Nations include fellowships and scholarships to enable specialists in family and child

welfare, as well as in other social fields, to study and observe programs abroad. Sixty fellowships and scholarships in family and child welfare were awarded during 1952. Furthermore certain aspects of family and child welfare were considered, among other subjects, in several regional seminars arranged by the United Nations. For example, the seminar for Arab States held in 1952 considered the subject of public assistance for families and children. Other United Nations activities in this field during 1952 included the following studies and reports: *Legislative and Administrative Series on Child, Youth, and Family Welfare*, *Standards of Care for Children in Institutions*, and *Adoption and Institutional Care of Children.*

HOUSING

A housing expert was given a 4 months' assignment in Colombia in 1952, during which he worked with the Inter-American Housing Center, a joint project of the Colombian Government and the Organization of American States. The United Nations expert assisted in developing a research program on building materials and construction methods and advised interested agencies on the possibilities of obtaining building materials from local sources. The two experts furnished to assist the Peruvian Ministry of Development and Public Welfare in the preparation of plans for the organized development and modernization of cities, towns, and other areas, including the financial aspects of such schemes, are another example of expert advisory services provided by the United Nations. These experts were also asked to prepare zone ordinances and construction regulations. During 1952 a total of eight expert advisers were sent to assist governments requesting help in the field of housing.

The United Nations granted 26 fellowships and scholarships in 1952 to enable housing officials to study and observe housing methods and practices in other countries. Its research program included such studies as methods of preparing programs of housing and public construction, methods of increasing productivity in construction of housing, and the financing of housing. Periodically the United Nations issues a *Housing and Town and Country Planning Bulletin*, and it maintains a Reference Center which has indexes of printed material available on various housing topics throughout the world.

PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF CRIME

The United Nations also provided advisory services in the field of prevention and treatment of crime during 1952. For example, in response to a request from the Indian Government, two experts were

made available. One expert advised the national and state governments on problems of correctional and prison administration and conducted a 6 months' training course for prison administrators. A second expert assisted governmental officials in implementing the recommendations made. Forty-five fellowships and scholarships were granted for study in several penological and criminological fields. The research projects undertaken during 1952 included studies relating to the selection and training of correctional personnel, standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners, and a study of criminal statistics, which was undertaken in collaboration with the statistical office of the United Nations.

REHABILITATION OF THE HANDICAPPED

On the basis of the advice of an expert who visited Egypt to make a preliminary survey, the Egyptian Government requested the United Nations to assist in the establishment of a demonstration center for the rehabilitation of the blind. It will be the first institution of its kind in an area where the percentage of blind and partially sighted persons is very high. The center will be used not only for the training of Egyptian nationals but also at a later stage as a demonstration center where nationals of other Arab States can be introduced to modern methods of education, training, and employment of the blind. The United Nations will provide experts to work in the center, fellowships, and equipment. Six expert advisers in this field were furnished by the United Nations during 1952 to assist requesting governments. Thirty-six fellowships and scholarships were granted for study and observation abroad. Another type of service relating to rehabilitation is illustrated by the training course conducted under United Nations auspices for the Scandinavian countries, which was attended by national teams composed of specialists in the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped. The basic purpose of this course was to emphasize the way in which medical, technical, occupational, and social aspects of this problem can be fused in an integrated service and to enable participants to study developments in the techniques of rehabilitation, with particular emphasis on their psychological, social and industrial aspects.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE

At the request of the Government of Libya, a United Nations expert consultant in social welfare was assigned to that country for 6 months to survey existing needs and programs and to make recommendations regarding the establishment and administration of a comprehensive

social welfare program, including public assistance and unemployment relief. An expert was sent to Haiti on a similar mission. During 1952 this type of service was provided to requesting governments through 15 expert advisers. In addition 47 United Nations fellowships and scholarships were granted to persons interested in studying organizational and administrative aspects of social programs abroad.

Another activity relating to organization and administration that is of particular significance is a study being made by the United Nations Secretariat entitled "Programs of Social Development." This study will give a picture of the salient features of national and international undertakings in the social field since 1945 in selected areas. When completed in 1954 the study will be a descriptive analysis of social programs and projects that will complement the *Report on the World Social Situation*, referred to earlier, which describes social conditions as they are but does not attempt to analyze what is being done about them.

Narcotic Drug Control

Figures on seizures presented to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs during its seventh session, April 15 to May 9, 1952, indicated that the international illicit traffic in narcotic drugs has increased dangerously. Recognizing that strong efforts must be made immediately to cope with this problem, the Economic and Social Council at its 14th session requested the Secretary-General: (1) to advise governments that this baneful trade cannot be combated successfully by national efforts alone and that international cooperation is essential; and (2) to ask governments to review their preventive organizations to insure that they are adequate to combat the illicit traffic within their territories.

The United States representative on the Commission reported that investigations, arrests, and seizures in Japan during 1951 proved conclusively that Chinese Communists were smuggling heroin from mainland China to Japan and were using the proceeds from the sale thereof to finance party activities and to obtain strategic materials for Communist China.

Agreement was reached by the Commission on the principles to be embodied in the first 13 articles of the proposed international convention that is intended to replace the eight existing treaties on narcotic drugs. Under this convention, which may require a number of sessions to complete, two control bodies would be established: an International Narcotics Commission, to be created by the Economic and Social Council with provision for it to function independently of the Council, and an International Narcotics Control Board, with semi-judicial functions similar to those of the present Permanent Central

Opium Board. Separate secretariats would be provided for the Commission and the Board.

The Economic and Social Council at its 1952 session noted that the use of synthetic narcotic drugs has been increasing rapidly and that the quantity produced annually of one of these drugs, pethidine, already exceeds that of morphine intended for consumption as such. It therefore requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to draw the attention of governments to the desirability of bringing all synthetic narcotic drugs under national control as soon as they appear.

The Council also decided to convene an international conference to draft and adopt a protocol to the 1931 international narcotic convention, as amended, for the purpose of regulating the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium. This Conference is scheduled to convene in New York on May 11, 1953.

Bolivia and Peru having agreed in principle to such experiments, the Council adopted a resolution requesting that the technical assistance services of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, with the help of the Secretariat, study the possibility of undertaking, within the framework of the existing technical assistance programs in Bolivia and Peru, planned experiments in the Altiplano and in the lowlands on the effects of the chewing of the coca leaf. The undertaking of these experiments had been recommended by the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on the Coca Leaf.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

The activities of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), most of which are part of a continuing program, may be divided into four broad categories: assistance to member states in raising levels of education; promotion of free exchange of knowledge in the fields of education, science, and culture; promotion of higher education and scientific research; and development of increased international understanding and mutual respect among peoples. The 68 member states participate in varying degrees in these activities. Three of these states joined Unesco in 1952, while three others—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—have submitted their resignations from the Organization.

RAISING LEVELS OF EDUCATION

One of Unesco's main endeavors is in the field of fundamental education. Through this process adults who have not had opportunities

for formal education are taught not only to read and write but also how to improve their general living conditions—their health and their crops, for example. The first regional fundamental education center, established at Pátzcuaro, Mexico, in 1951 with the cooperation of the Organization of American States and the Mexican Government, graduated its first class of 50 students from nine Latin American countries in December 1952. Plans were also laid during 1952 for the establishment of UNESCO's second regional center of this character, which opened in January 1953 in Sirs-El-Layan, Egypt, to train persons in the techniques of teaching fundamental education and in the production of appropriate materials. Trainees at both centers become qualified to return to their own countries to assist in similar undertakings there.

Because approximately half of the world's children of school age receive no schooling, UNESCO concerns itself with the promotion of universal free and compulsory schooling. Besides helping member states, through technical assistance projects, in the extension of primary education and vocational training, UNESCO in 1952 inaugurated a series of regional conferences to determine, in the light of conditions prevailing in the various regions, the best methods of implementing the recommendations on compulsory education drawn up by a joint UNESCO-International Bureau of Education Conference in 1951. The first of these regional conferences was held at Bombay, India, in December for the benefit of governments of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. UNESCO also prepared studies in 1952 on the training of teachers preparatory to a Conference in 1953, to be sponsored jointly by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education. This Conference will give major attention to teacher-training problems, which are among the most difficult encountered in extending primary education. In addition emergency educational assistance was made available, in cooperation with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, for some 50,000 Arab refugee children, and five UNESCO experts, in association with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, have completed a 6 months' survey of educational needs in Korea.

A corollary problem in raising the level of education is that of making books available. The first public library pilot project, which was developed by UNESCO in cooperation with the Indian Government, is now in full operation and is serving an average of 2,300 readers daily. Educators and future librarians from Southeast Asia and Africa will be brought to this library in New Delhi for demonstrations in the value of public libraries, and arrangements have been made for a similar project in Colombia to serve as a demonstration center for Latin America.

Because of the limitation on the availability of books caused by currency restrictions, UNESCO since 1948 has been operating the Book Coupon Scheme. This enables libraries, schools, research projects, and students in 36 soft-currency countries to purchase in their national currency books, periodicals, photostats, and microfilms generally available in hard-currency countries. At the end of 1952 almost $3,000,000 worth of coupons had been issued.

As a part of its program for development of museums as an instrument for education, UNESCO sponsored an international seminar at New York's Brooklyn Museum in 1952, which was attended by educators and museum officials from 26 countries. Some 50 American museums joined in presenting examples of educational techniques used by museums in this country.

FREE EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE

In 1952 UNESCO gave financial assistance to some 27 international nongovernmental organizations whose members are natural scientists, social scientists, or specialists in the humanities. This assistance made it possible for these associations to carry out a minimum of international cooperative work that they could not otherwise have undertaken. UNESCO has also promoted the formation of a number of new organizations in fields where they did not exist. A new organization formed under UNESCO sponsorship in 1952 is the Provisional International Social Science Council, in which the five major international social science associations are represented. To help compensate for the inadequacy of the national sections of such specialist organizations in some regions of the world, UNESCO has established Field Science Cooperation Offices in Montevideo, Cairo, New Delhi, and Djakarta.

Since one important aspect of the free exchange of knowledge is the standardization, collection, and dissemination of specialized documentation, UNESCO promotes the publication of bibliographies and abstracts. For example, the first volume of the *Index Bibliographies* appeared in 1952. A Provisional International Consultative Committee on Bibliography met during the year to consider the danger of dispersion of effort because of the great number of organizations and their specialization. This Committee will have the task of bringing uniformity into bibliographical methods in the various disciplines. UNESCO also tries to encourage both multiplication and improvement of translations, and the third issue of *Index Translationum*, issued in 1952, covers nearly 17,000 translations published in 40 countries in 1951.

Another aspect of the free flow of knowledge is protection of authors, artists, and scientists. During 1952 the International Copy-

right Convention, sponsored by UNESCO, was adopted after 5 years of preliminary work and is now before governments for ratification. For the first time, under the terms of the convention, writers, artists, and scientists will get the same copyright protection abroad as in their own countries. The treaty applies to all literary, scientific, and artistic works, including writings, musical compositions, dramatic and cinematographic works and paintings, engravings, and sculpture. Another UNESCO-sponsored international agreement, which is aimed at removing tariffs on educational, scientific, and cultural materials, came into force in May 1952. Both of these agreements must be approved by the Senate before they can go into effect in the United States.

An International Conference of Artists, convened by UNESCO in Venice in September 1952, was attended by 271 official delegates from 43 countries. It focused on the artist as a creative force in drawing men together and on the work of the artist as the clearest example of freedom in the human spirit. As Thornton Wilder, chief of the United States delegation and rapporteur-general of the Conference, stated—

> Freedom presents itself to an artist not as a void but as a severe summons. Of all men, artists and men of religion have the clearest vision of what freedom is; and we live in fear lest we abuse it. No one commands our laborious hours, no one can help us. The only freedom we desire is a servitude to the truth.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

In the field of scientific research UNESCO is pursuing two courses of action: one designed to assist in the coordination of the research programs of existing national institutes and the other to promote the establishment of international or regional research institutes. UNESCO's work on the problems of arid and semiarid regions falls in the first category. It is carried out under the direction of an advisory commission of experts set up in 1951, on which there is one expert from the United States. A survey dealing with the properties of underground water was completed in 1952, and a second survey on the relationship of plants to their environment is under way. In April 1952 UNESCO organized, in cooperation with the Turkish Government, a symposium on arid zone hydrology and the following month assisted in a symposium on desert research organized by the National Research Council of Israel.

An example of UNESCO's work in the second of the two categories of activities described above is the agreement constituting a council of representatives of European states for planning an international laboratory and organizing other forms of cooperation in nuclear re-

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search, which came into force in May 1952. The proposed nuclear physics laboratory, which will be located in Geneva, represents a pooling of national efforts in this field by a number of European countries. Another UNESCO endeavor of this type resulted in a convention for the establishment of an international computation center, aimed at improving calculating machinery, training specialists, and effecting computations for member states. This convention has been signed by 10 states and will come into force as soon as it has been ratified by 10 signatories.

For the first time UNESCO launched university courses in 1952 as an experiment in providing technical assistance to universities in the process of expanding. A social science team went to the University of Dacca in Pakistan, and a second team of instructors will go to the University of Caracas in Venezuela to assist in the development of chemistry teaching. A UNESCO-sponsored Conference of Experts, attended by 70 specialists from 11 countries, was held in Paris in September 1952 to consider the teaching of the social sciences in universities.

PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND MUTUAL RESPECT

From the standpoint of international understanding, UNESCO attaches special importance to the comparison of cultures and the historical analysis of the relations among them. The suggestions for strengthening the moral bonds between different civilizations put forward at a meeting of philosophers and educators, organized by UNESCO at New Delhi in December 1951, are serving as a basis for continuing study of cultural relations between the East and West. Another project deriving from the same desire to stress the interdependence of all peoples and cultures is the preparation of a *Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind*, being undertaken by an international commission with financial assistance from UNESCO.

As part of its program in support of United Nations principles and purposes, UNESCO organized a seminar in August 1952 in the Netherlands, where 63 educational experts from 26 countries considered methods of education for living in an international community, with special reference to human rights. An experimental Regional Seminar on Human Rights, organized jointly by the Inter-American Academy of International and Comparative Law and UNESCO, was held at Havana in 1952, with the participation of 56 representatives from Latin America and the United States.

In the belief that travel abroad is one of the best ways of helping people to gain a better understanding of one another, UNESCO organ-

izes individual and collective travel exchanges and administers a number of grants for travel abroad. In 1952 two experiments in the exchange of teachers were carried out, one among the Arab States and the other among six Latin American countries. In cooperation with international workers' organizations, UNESCO also arranged educational tours which, through the allocation of small sums as travel grants, enabled 760 workers from 12 European countries to visit countries other than their own.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

Concern for human rights was voiced increasingly in United Nations meetings during 1952, in specific resolutions and in connection with many agenda items. Some of the questions involved, such as the treatment of natives and peoples of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa, were primarily political, while others, such as international efforts on behalf of refugees and the study of forced labor conducted by a special committee, were essentially economic in character, and these questions are discussed elsewhere in this report. Continuing activities directed primarily toward the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all include the work of the Commissions on Human Rights and Status of Women and of the Subcommissions on Freedom of Information and on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The progress of these bodies and proposals arising from their recommendations are discussed below, together with developments concerning the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the efforts of the United Nations Commission on Prisoners of War.

Draft Covenants on Human Rights

At the request of the General Assembly, the Commission on Human Rights at its session in the spring of 1952 divided the draft International Covenant on Human Rights, on which it had been working since 1947, into two covenants—one on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social, and cultural rights. The Commission did not have adequate time during its 1952 session, however, to complete its review of all of the provisions of the two covenants and accordingly obtained authorization from the Economic and Social Council to complete this work in 1953.

The United States has consistently supported treatment of the two groups of rights in separate covenants in order to take cognizance of the fact that the term "rights" must be used in a different sense in the case of civil and political rights and of economic, social, and cultural rights, respectively. The basic civil and political rights covered in the one covenant, which are well known in American tradition and law, are looked upon as "rights" to be given effect immediately. The economic, social, and cultural rights included in the other covenant, while recognized as "rights," are looked upon as goals, which countries ratifying the covenant would undertake to strive toward "progressively" and to achieve to the extent permitted by available resources. It was further recognized by the Human Rights Commission that economic, social, and cultural rights are to be attained by many means and methods, private as well as public, and the draft Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights expressly states that the rights recognized in it are to be achieved "by other means" as well as by legislation.

The decision on two covenants was opposed by the Soviet Union, which urged the Human Rights Commission and subsequently the Economic and Social Council to recommend a single document. The Soviet Union also repeatedly urged unsuccessfully that economic, social, and cultural rights be stated in terms of state legislation only and, as at previous sessions of the Commission, tried, with an equal lack of success, to weaken the provisions of the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

In contrast to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has no legal binding force, the two covenants are being drafted in the form of treaties, to be opened for ratification or accession by governments after approval by the General Assembly and to come into force when ratified by 20 countries. Each covenant will apply only to countries ratifying it, and there is appropriate language in both covenants to assure that they are non-self-executing. The draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides that where the recognized rights have not already been "provided for by existing legislative or other measures, each [Contracting] State undertakes to take the necessary steps, in accordance with its constitutional processes and with the provisions of this Covenant, to adopt such legislative or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the rights recognized in this Covenant." Under the draft Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights each contracting country agrees to take steps "with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in this Covenant by legislative as well as by other means."

Provision is also included in each of the covenants to make it clear that "there shall be no restriction upon or derogation from any of the

fundamental human rights recognized or existing in any Contracting State pursuant to the law [of that State] . . . on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent." The Commission included this provision to stress the point that under no circumstances should either covenant be utilized as a pretext for any decrease in the higher standards existing in some countries.

The United States, together with Australia and India, submitted a new draft of a Federal-State article to the Commission, consideration of which was postponed because of lack of time. This draft would insure that the constitutional balance between the powers delegated by the federal constitution to the federal government, on the one hand, and the powers reserved to the states, on the other, would not be altered by the proposed covenants. The United States has insisted on the inclusion of a Federal-State article in the covenants since the earliest United Nations consideration of the matter in 1947. Under the proposed article a federal state, upon its ratification of a covenant, would undertake the same obligations as other ratifying countries with respect to rights that fall within the constitutional jurisdiction of the federal government. With respect to provisions that are wholly or in part within the jurisdiction of the several states, the only obligation of a federal state would be to bring these provisions to the notice of the appropriate authorities in the individual states with a favorable recommendation and a request for information on the law of the states in relation to the provisions. The federal state would then transmit this information to the United Nations.

In accordance with a General Assembly request, the Commission in 1952 drafted for inclusion in both covenants an article on self-determination. Although the United States voted for the two provisions of the article that recognize the right of peoples and nations to determine freely their political, economic, social, and cultural status and call on all countries to promote the realization of that right in all their territories and to respect its maintenance in other countries in conformity with United Nations Charter provisions, it opposed a third provision. The objectionable paragraph provides that "the right of the peoples to self-determination shall also include permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence on the grounds of any rights that may be claimed by other States." United States opposition to this provision was based primarily on the belief that the right to self-determination, like others, is not absolute and that, when it is exercised, cognizance must be taken of the rights of other states and peoples.

Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

Following a lengthy debate in the Economic and Social Council, in the course of which several countries, including the United States, expressed serious doubt about the effectiveness and usefulness of the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, the Council decided to convene another session of the Subcommission in 1952. In so doing, it acted in response to a request of the General Assembly at its sixth session. The Subcommission was asked to prepare a report on future work in the field of prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities for the consideration of the Commission on Human Rights. The Council also invited the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, as a matter of high priority, to continue its studies and work on educational methods and projects best designed to overcome prejudice and discriminatory attitudes.

The Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, whose members are appointed by the Secretary-General and serve in their individual capacities as experts, prepared the following list of projects for which a program of future work was outlined: (1) a study of measures to combat discrimination in a number of fields, beginning initially with education, to be conducted under the supervision of a special rapporteur; (2) a study of measures for the protection of minority rights, to be based on a compilation by the United Nations Secretary-General of relevant materials submitted to the United Nations by member governments; (3) the publication of booklets presenting material submitted to the Subcommission by governments and concerning the work of the Subcommission and other United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies in the field of discrimination and minorities; (4) the preparation of a special report annually by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization concerning its activities to eradicate prejudice and discrimination and to protect minorities; (5) the study by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization of erroneous views concerning religion that lead to interreligious hostility and tensions; (6) the extension of technical assistance to the field of discrimination and minorities, if requested by governments; and (7) closer consultative arrangements with nongovernmental organizations.

These recommendations are scheduled to be reviewed at the April 1953 session of the Commission on Human Rights, which will report its recommendations to the Economic and Social Council.

The Right of Peoples and Nations to Self-Determination

The preoccupation of the seventh session of the General Assembly with colonial problems emerged also in its Social Committee's discussions of self-determination. Although colonial problems do not ordinarily come within the purview of this Committee, no other item on its agenda occasioned such full discussion and occupied so much of its time. The recommendations, in the form of two draft resolutions from the Human Rights Commission, on which these discussions were based, grew out of a request of the General Assembly at its sixth session to the Commission for the preparation of recommendations concerning international respect for the self-determination of peoples. Such recommendations were not to await the drafting of an article on the right of self-determination for inclusion in the international covenants on human rights or the adoption of the covenants.

The General Assembly adopted three resolutions on self-determination at its seventh session. The first resolution relates to the recognition and promotion of the right of self-determination in general but with specific emphasis on the people of non-self-governing and trust territories. It endorses the use of "plebiscites or other democratic means, preferably under the auspices of the United Nations," for the determination of the wishes of the peoples of such territories. The second resolution recommends that member states administering non-self-governing territories voluntarily include in the annual information that they transmit to the Secretary-General under article 73 (e) of the Charter, information concerning the political progress of non-self-governing peoples. The third resolution, which was not proposed by the Human Rights Commission but was introduced in the Social Committee, instructs the Commission on Human Rights to continue preparing recommendations concerning international respect for the right of self-determination of peoples, and particularly on steps that might be taken by the various organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and to submit its recommendations to the next General Assembly.

In the Committee discussion of these resolutions, no member expressed opposition to the principle of self-determination, i. e., the principle that peoples should be able to decide their own destiny. There was, however, wide divergence of views on the methods to be employed and the effectiveness of the resolutions proposed. In general, those opposed claimed the resolutions extended the scope of the Charter, that they discriminated against states administering non-self-governing territories, and that United Nations action, e. g., holding plebiscites, might constitute intervention in the domestic affairs of these states. Some delegates opposed the adoption of these resolu-

tions because the terms "peoples," "nations," and "right of self-determination" had not been clearly defined. It was also pointed out that the exercise of self-determination without limitations or safeguards might be a source of friction and might disturb the friendly relations between states.

On the other hand supporters of the resolutions emphasized that they were in keeping with the spirit and principles of the Charter and that the domestic jurisdiction clause of the Charter was modified by the obligations assumed by the administering powers under the Charter to promote self-government in non-self-governing territories. It was also pointed out that precise definitions of legal concepts were not an essential prerequisite for the inclusion of such concepts in recommendations concerned with the right of self-determination and that attempts to draw up precise legal definitions would lead to unwarranted delay in implementing this right.

The United States took the lead in further attempting to "universalize" the first of the draft resolutions on self-determination, as submitted to the Committee, by offering amendments intended to make clear that the resolution was concerned with territories that had lost their independence or were in danger of losing it, as well as with dependent territories. Additional United States amendments were designed to eliminate the draft's characterization of the colonial relationship as "slavery" and to provide greater flexibility in the selection of means to ascertain the wishes of peoples regarding their political destiny. To this end an amendment to provide for "other democratic means," as well as United Nations plebiscites, was put forward.

Although the draft was considerably improved, the United States was unable to support the resolution adopted by the Committee. The United States further attempt to "universalize" the implementation section of the resolution had been unsuccessful so that this section of the resolution continued to concentrate on colonial peoples and failed to make it clear that the implementation of the resolution also covered peoples whose right to govern themselves has been taken away from them by Soviet communism. Moreover the resolution recommended that not only plebiscites but also other recognized democratic means for determining the peoples' wishes should preferably be placed under the auspices of the United Nations, and the United States could not agree with this emphasis. Nevertheless the resolution was adopted in the Social Committee by a vote of 34 to 13, with 6 abstentions and in the plenary session by a vote of 40 to 14, with 6 abstentions.

The second of the two resolutions, recommending the voluntary transmission to the United Nations of political information on non-self-governing territories, was adopted in Committee over the objections of the administering powers by a rollcall vote of 38 to 10, with 4

abstentions. It was approved in plenary session by a vote of 39 to 12, with 5 abstentions. The major colonial powers based their objections to this resolution on the contention that it would extend the obligations that they assumed when they signed the Charter. They pointed out that the Charter obligation to transmit information on their territories refers only to economic, social, and educational conditions. Although the United States submits on a voluntary basis the political information called for in this resolution, it opposed the adoption of a General Assembly recommendation that would have the effect of putting pressure on other administering members to assume specific obligations additional to those contained in article 73 (e) of the Charter. Most of the nonadministering members of the Social Committee, however, maintained that the inclusion of the word "voluntarily" in the recommendation to administering powers to submit political information kept this resolution in harmony with the spirit of the Charter.

The third resolution, instructing the Commission on Human Rights to continue preparing recommendations concerning international respect for the right of self-determination of peoples, was adopted in the Committee by a vote of 38 to 7, with 8 abstentions and in the plenary session by a vote of 42 to 7, with 8 abstentions. The United States was able to support this resolution, whereas most of the other administering powers voted against it.

Freedom of Information

United Nations efforts to advance freedom of information in 1952 revealed the same frustrations that were evident in 1951. These resulted in part from the obstructionist tactics of the Communist countries and to a greater extent from the attitudes of many of the underdeveloped countries, some of which have only recently gained their independence, and also of certain developed countries. These attitudes reflected a distrust of the large international news agencies and their presentation of news, a desire on the part of the underdeveloped countries to develop their own national news services and their lack of experience and economic resources for this purpose. These attitudes also reflected a fear, on the part of some governments concerned with their own tenure, of too much freedom and a resentment at the way in which news about them was handled in the free press of the world.

The three most significant developments in the field of freedom of information in the United Nations in 1952 were the discontinuance of the United Nations Subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press, the appointment of a rapporteur on a temporary basis, and the General Assembly's approval at its seventh session of a Con-

vention on the International Right of Correction, to which the United States was strongly opposed.

The 12-man expert United Nations Subcommission on Freedom of Information, which was constituted by the Economic and Social Council in 1947, held its fifth and last session in March 1952. The final report of this Subcommission, which was considered at the 1952 session of the Economic and Social Council, presented seven draft resolutions covering future United Nations work in this field, the importance of technical assistance and continued efforts by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to advance freedom of information, the harm done by the dissemination of false and distorted information, the dissemination of the resolutions of United Nations organs, action to open for signature the Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction, the completion of the Convention on Freedom of Information, and the Draft International Code of Ethics.

The Economic and Social Council agreed that it was necessary to have the United Nations continue to ascertain facts in these fields and to give active consideration to measures designed to overcome obstacles to greater freedom of information. The Council discontinued the Subcommission, however, because it had proved ineffective, an opinion shared by Carroll Binder, the United States national on the Subcommission. The Subcommission recommendation that a 12-man expert Committee on Freedom of Information and of the Press be constituted was rejected, as was a French proposal that a smaller expert group be established. At the suggestion of the United States, the Economic and Social Council decided to appoint, in place of the Subcommission, a rapporteur on freedom of information, to serve in a personal capacity for 1 year and to prepare for the 16th session of the Economic and Social Council "a substantive report covering major contemporary problems and developments in the field of freedom of information, together with recommendations regarding practical action which might be taken by the Council in order to surmount these obstacles to the fuller enjoyment of freedom of information which can be surmounted at the present time." Subsequently the Council elected Salvador P. Lopez (Philippines) to this position.

The Economic and Social Council also approved resolutions referring the Draft International Code of Ethics to nongovernmental organizations for their consideration, encouraging the development of independent domestic information agencies and urging dissemination of the resolutions of United Nations organs.

The General Assembly at its seventh session approved these Council actions and recommended that United Nations bodies consider appropriate measures to avoid the harm done to international understanding by the dissemination of false and distorted information. The Assem-

bly decided to consider further at its next session the problem of promoting and safeguarding freedom of information, including the draft of the Convention on Freedom of Information, on the basis of the Economic and Social Council's consideration of the rapporteur's report. A resolution calling for the development of information facilities in underdeveloped regions of the world, strongly supported by the United States, was also approved. This resolution calls for practical programs to reduce economic and financial obstacles, to promote the exchange of information personnel, to assist in the training of such personnel, to raise professional and technical standards, and to suggest measures in connection with the supply of newsprint.

CONVENTION ON FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

The United States took the initiative at the 1952 session of the Economic and Social Council in suspending action on the 1951 draft of the Convention on Freedom of Information, which has become so loaded down with reservations and restrictions as to be a hinderance rather than an aid to the free flow of information. At the seventh session of the General Assembly, however, 16 nations sponsored a proposal in the Social Committee for immediate detailed consideration of the draft Convention on Freedom of Information. This was rejected by a tie vote of 23 to 23, with 8 abstentions. Opposition was mainly on the grounds that it would be fruitless for a 60-member Committee to attempt to redraft the convention when, during the past several years, smaller United Nations bodies have failed to reach satisfactory agreement on the controversial text. The United States held to its previous position that the 1951 draft of the Freedom of Information Convention is detrimental to promoting a worldwide acceptance of the concept of freedom of information and that the proposed inclusion of adequate provisions on freedom of information in the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other more practical measures should prove both more desirable and more effective.

INTERNATIONAL RIGHT OF CORRECTION

At the 1952 session of the Economic and Social Council, France initiated a move to split the Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction and to have the international right of correction considered separately. At that time the United States was successful in its efforts to prevent this action, on the grounds that a separate convention on the International Right of Correction was unnecessary; would not advance freedom of infor-

mation; and could become a source of distorted government propaganda as it offered governments the right to require other governments, parties to the convention, to issue "corrections" of any news stories not to the taste of the complaining government. Nevertheless at its seventh session the General Assembly had before it a Right of Correction Convention sponsored by Egypt, France, Lebanon, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia, which was supported by many Arab, Asian, and Latin American states. Despite strong opposition from several countries including the United States, the General Assembly approved this convention by a vote of 25 to 22, with 10 abstentions. In the discussion Charles A. Sprague, the United States representative, stated with respect to the convention: "A far greater and more effective safeguard against incorrect reporting is to increase the supply of news and the sources of news so that editors and readers may judge for themselves, by comparing reports, what is to be believed."

SOVIET PROPAGANDA

The U. S. S. R. and its satellites, which have taken a negative stand against all efforts to advance freedom of information as it is understood in the free world, used the discussions both in the Economic and Social Council and in the General Assembly for propaganda purposes and submitted a draft resolution at the General Assembly charging that the United States and other countries were engaged in a hate campaign and propaganda for war. The resolution, considerably amended, was rejected in Committee by a rollcall vote of 19 to 21, with 12 abstentions. It was reintroduced at a plenary session of the General Assembly, where it was rejected by a vote of 9 to 35, with 14 abstentions.

Status of Women

A Convention on the Political Rights of Women was completed by the General Assembly in December 1952 and was opened for signature by a vote of 46 (United States) to 0, with 11 abstentions. The Soviet Union and its four satellites were among those who abstained. The date for signature was set for the close of the seventh session of the General Assembly, and the convention will come into force 90 days after the sixth instrument of ratification or accession has been deposited.

The three substantive clauses of the convention provide that women shall be entitled to vote, to be elected to publicly elected bodies established by national law, and to hold public office and exercise all public functions established by national law, on equal terms with men,

without any discrimination. During consideration of the convention in the General Assembly, there appeared to be general agreement that article 3 of the convention, in regard to public office and functions, does not apply to military service. Some delegations having indicated that linguistic difficulties made the use of both the terms "office" and "functions" desirable for them, the United States made clear its understanding that the public functions referred to are coterminous with public office.

The Soviet Union proposed various amendments to the convention, all of which were defeated. The most extensive of these was a clause to be added to each substantive article providing that the particular right would be granted "without any discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, national or social origin, property status, language or religion." The United States and others pointed out that this clause was unnecessary since the text already provided that women should be entitled to exercise the rights specified "on equal terms with men" and also that the enumeration proposed by the Soviet Union was faulty in omitting various possible grounds, in particular discrimination on the ground of political opinion. While the amendment as a whole was defeated, as it had previously been in the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on the Status of Women, a separate vote was taken at the request of Indonesia on the first three words of the Soviet amendment, "without any discrimination." Various representatives, including the United States, pointed out that it was unnecessary to include this phrase, but a majority voted to add these words to the substantive articles.

Women have equal suffrage today in 58 countries and limited suffrage rights in 7 more. The Governments of Bolivia and Lebanon extended franchise rights to women during 1952. However, at the close of the year there were still 15 countries in which women lacked political rights.

In addition to the convention discussed above, the Commission on the Status of Women, which held its sixth annual session in Geneva from March 24 to April 5, 1952, considered progress reports on such matters as the access of women to posts in government service, educational opportunities, vocational guidance and training, and equal pay for equal work for men and women workers.

Provision of educational opportunities for women was also a major item at the XVth Conference on Public Education at Geneva in July, which was conducted jointly by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Bureau of Education, and was attended by the representatives of more than 50 governments.

Genocide

During 1952 nine additional countries ratified or acceded to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, bringing the total number of adhering countries to 40. This Convention, which was opened for signature by the General Assembly in 1948 and entered into force in January 1951, grew out of the Nazi atrocities of World War II. It establishes as an international crime the destruction of a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such, and requires each contracting state to prevent and punish such mass murder through domestic legislation. The United States has signed but not ratified the convention.

When the Chinese National Government deposited its ratification of the Genocide Convention in 1951, it requested that the official Chinese text be brought into greater conformity with the English, French, Spanish, and Russian texts. After consideration of the changes proposed, which did not alter the substance or meaning of the convention, the 1952 session of the General Assembly adopted a resolution transmitting the corrected Chinese text to governments and requesting states that had signed or become parties to the convention to notify the United Nations of their acceptance of or objection to these changes.

United Nations Ad Hoc Commission on Prisoners of War

At Geneva during 1952 the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners of War held its second and third sessions but was unable to accomplish its basic purpose because of Soviet noncooperation. The question of the hundreds of thousands of World War II prisoners of war—German, Japanese, Italians, and others—still unrepatriated or unaccounted for by the Soviet Union had been taken up by the General Assembly at its fifth session in 1950, after repeated direct approaches on this problem by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France had failed to bring about any change in the Soviet attitude. Despite information to the contrary from the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the U.S.S.R. insisted that it had returned all prisoners of war except for a few thousand war criminals and a handful of others under medical treatment.

On December 14, 1950, the General Assembly adopted, by a vote of 43–5–6, a resolution cosponsored by Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States "for the peaceful solution of the problem of prisoners of war." This resolution called upon all governments still holding World War II prisoners to give these prisoners "an unrestricted opportunity of repatriation" in accordance with inter-

national law and usage. The resolution also called upon all governments to furnish the names of such prisoners as they still held and of any who had died while under their control. It requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to establish an *ad hoc* commission composed of three "qualified and impartial persons" with a view to settling the question of the prisoners of war.

The Commission appointed by the Secretary-General in the first part of 1951 is composed of Judge José Gustavo Guerrero of El Salvador (Vice President of the International Court of Justice) who was elected chairman, Countess Bernadotte of Sweden (widow of the late Count Folke Bernadotte, United Nations Mediator for Palestine), and Judge Aung Khine (Judge of the High Court of Burma). Having decided at its first meeting in the summer of 1951 that its task was nonpolitical and purely humanitarian, the Commission at its two subsequent sessions has examined and evaluated the information submitted to it and sought additional information on unrepatriated prisoners of war from such countries as the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and Italy. It has also addressed an inquiry to the Chinese Communists concerning Japanese prisoners of war.

The Commission invited 11 interested governments to send representatives to its second session, January 22–February 9, 1952. Those invited were Australia, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Ten of these eleven accepted, but the Soviet Union boycotted the session. The United States, in a note of January 8, which the U.S.S.R. described as "a slanderous attack against the Soviet Union," urged the U.S.S.R. to participate in the session and to afford the commission every assistance in its humanitarian task. During the session, the United States representative, Senator (then Representative) Michael J. Mansfield of Montana, stating that the United States had repatriated all prisoners of war taken by its forces, extended on behalf of his Government a most cordial welcome to the Commission should it wish to study prisoner-of-war data in the United States.

The third session of the Commission was held from August 26 to September 13, 1952. The same 10 governments, Brazil, and Denmark sent representatives. Again the Soviet Union failed to cooperate; and, as the United States representative at this session, Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, Ambassador to Denmark, pointed out, "without the indispensable cooperation of the Soviet Union," efforts to obtain the repatriation of and accounting for the missing prisoners of war could "meet with but limited success." Mrs. Anderson therefore again appealed to the Soviet Union, from a purely humanitarian point of view, to participate in the Commission's work and "immediately to

release and account for all prisoners taken into its custody during World War II."

In a special report to the United Nations Secretary-General at the close of its third session, the Commission concluded that it was "unable to perform the basic task for which it was set up" owing to its failure to obtain Soviet cooperation. The Commission expressed the hope "that a fresh appeal for international co-operation among the Members of the United Nations and to their spirit of humanity might have the effect of giving a more promising direction" to its work.

PART III

Dependent Territories

THE 200,000,000 people who live in more than 70 non-self-governing territories throughout the world continue to receive the attention of various organs and committees of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of chapters XI, XII, and XIII of the Charter. Chapter XI, the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, sets forth the responsibilities of members administering non-self-governing territories to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories. Chapters XII and XIII establish the United Nations trusteeship system, which provides for special international supervision of the administration of 11 non-self-governing territories known as trust territories.

The international responsibilities of the United States with regard to dependent territories arise both from its membership in organizations concerned with these territories and from the fact that the United States itself administers a number of non-self-governing territories. During 1952 the United States participated in the work of the Trusteeship Council and several of its committees; the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly; the Assembly's Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories; and three *ad hoc* bodies of the Assembly: the *Ad Hoc* Committee on South-West Africa, the Committee on Administrative Unions, and the *Ad Hoc* Committee on factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government. The United States also participated in two regional international organizations, the Caribbean and the South Pacific Commissions. As an administering authority the United States reported to the United Nations on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands as well as on Alaska, American Samoa, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico,[1] and the Virgin Islands of the United States. In each

[1] On July 25, 1952, the constitution establishing the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico entered into force. In view of this development the United States has informed the United Nations of its decision to cease transmitting information on Puerto Rico under chapter XI of the Charter.

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case these reports recorded political, economic, social, and educational progress. Reports were also transmitted by Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom on the territories under their administration. Although there was considerable critical comment by some United Nations members on conditions in certain of these areas, it was generally acknowledged that significant advances were taking place in most dependent territories.

In the course of United Nations discussions during the past year, a number of statements were made indicating that members are sharply aware of the new type of colonialism that, within the last decade, has submerged formerly independent peoples in Eastern Europe and elsewhere and reduced them to a state of servile dependence. The tragedy of these peoples stands in stark contrast with the evolutionary progress toward self-government observed in the dependent territories discussed below.

FUNCTIONING OF THE TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

More than 18,000,000 people inhabit the 11 trust territories administered under the international trusteeship system. During 1952 the Trusteeship Council met in two regular sessions and examined annual reports on all 11 of these trust territories, adopting detailed conclusions and recommendations with regard to each of them. The Council also examined the reports of its second visiting mission to East Africa and for the second time sent a visiting mission to the four trust territories in West Africa. The latter mission prepared a special report on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem while it was still in the field in order to enable the Trusteeship Council to report on the problem to the seventh session of the General Assembly. In addition the Council considered 244 petitions relating to conditions in the trust territories and discussed numerous special problems, including the operation of administrative unions and the participation of indigenous peoples in the work of the Council.

The Trusteeship Council's conclusions and recommendations were debated at the seventh session of the General Assembly, which, in turn, made a number of recommendations to the administering authorities with a view to the further advancement of the territories under their supervision.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The trust territory consists of some 98 island groups comprising the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas (except Guam), which are scat-

tered over 3,000,000 square miles of ocean and which have a total population of some 55,000. Before the United States occupied these islands during World War II, they had been administered at various times and in varying extent by Spain, Germany, and Japan. The United States administered the area under military government until July 18, 1947, when the trusteeship agreement entered into force. This agreement provided for United States administration of the islands as a strategic area under the international trusteeship system. At that time the President delegated responsibility for the civil administration of the trust territory to the Secretary of the Navy on an interim basis. On July 1, 1951, the administration of the trust territory was transferred by the President from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the Interior. On November 10, 1952, the President signed Executive Order 10408 which provided, effective January 1, 1953, for the transfer of the administration of the islands of Saipan and Tinian in the trust territory from the Secretary of the Interior to the Secretary of the Navy.

VISITING MISSION AND PETITIONS

During the second half of its eleventh session, November–December 1952, the Trusteeship Council made arrangements for the second periodic visiting mission to tour the four trust territories in the Pacific area, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The first mission visited the area in 1950. The present mission is to be composed of Enrique de Marchena, Dominican Republic, as chairman; Leon Pignon, France; W. A. C. Mathieson, United Kingdom; and Najmuddine Rifai, Syria. It was to leave for the territories not later than February 15, 1953, and to return about May 20, 1953. The visiting mission is directed to investigate and to report on the steps taken in the four trust territories toward the realization of the objectives set forth in the Charter, to receive and investigate petitions, and to report to the Council not later than June 10, 1953. The United Nations received no petitions relating to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands during the year 1952.

ANNUAL REPORT

The Trusteeship Council at its tenth session in March 1952 examined in some detail the fourth annual report of the United States on its administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the period July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1951. The late Elbert D. Thomas,[1]

[1] Mr. Thomas died at his post on Feb. 11, 1953. Frank Elbert Midkiff of Hawaii was designated by the President to succeed Mr. Thomas and took office as High Commissioner on Mar. 13, 1953.

High Commissioner of the trust territory, was present at several Trusteeship Council meetings as special representative of the administering authority to explain the report and answer questions.

In the area of political advancement the United States reported that it has continued to concentrate its efforts at the local and regional level in an effort to develop a sound basis of experience and cooperation among the indigenous people upon which a wider framework of self-government for the trust territory may eventually be built. It also pointed out that regional congresses with advisory powers are functioning in the Palau Islands, the Marshall Islands, and Ponape Island, while a charter for such a congress is pending in the Saipan district, and that the authority of these congresses will be extended as they master the techniques and procedures of democratic government.

The Trusteeship Council commended the United States for its efforts, which have resulted in extending the practice of popular election of municipal officials by secret ballot, and asked that efforts to replace the hereditary system with democratic processes be intensified. It also expressed the hope that the United States would consider the direct association, as soon as possible, of the indigenous inhabitants in the work of the High Commissioner's Council, which was set up in July 1951 to advise the administration on legislative problems and which consists of all heads of administrative departments.

There was further improvement in the economic situation of the trust territory during the period July 1950 to June 1951. The United States reported that this improvement was attributable mainly to the increased production of copra, the main export, and to the high price that it brought in the world market. Although no large-scale industrial developments were planned, the United States continued to encourage and assist light industries, the most important of which were handicrafts. The Island Trading Company, an administration-sponsored organization, had set aside $250,000 for an economic-development fund to be used for loans and credit to local enterprises and would eventually be replaced by private trading companies, whose establishment was being assisted.

During the year two land and claims regulations were issued to expedite procedures for effecting the prompt transfer to private ownership of land no longer needed for government purposes. Pending final disposition of this land, the residents of the territory were using it freely for their own benefit.

The Trusteeship Council recommended that the United States continue its attempt to develop the material resources of the territory with a view to achieving a greater degree of economic advancement and self-sufficiency. The Council urged the diversification of agriculture and expressed the hope that efforts to introduce cacao culture

into the territory would be successful. It also recommended continued development of the territory's transport services.

In the social and educational fields the United States reported a number of advances. The status of women was improving as a result of the policy of recognizing the equality of women, and the Council recommended that the administering authority continue to encourage women of the territory to enter into public life. It noted with satisfaction the progress made in public health and emphasized the need for continuing effort to improve and expand the health services of the territory. The United States was also commended for the progress achieved in the field of education, as evidenced by the completion of 12 new schools, and for its encouragement of the study of indigenous art and culture. At the intermediate school level approximately 511 scholarships, covering 72 percent of the students at this level and affording free subsistence and stipends to cover costs of incidentals, were provided for students during the year. In the absence of institutions of higher education in the territory, the Council recommended that the United States consider the establishment of an expanded scheme of scholarships to enable indigenous students to study abroad, particularly in the fields of law and business administration.

Other Trust Territories in the Pacific

NEW GUINEA

The Trust Territory of New Guinea is administered by Australia jointly with the territory of Papua. Bordered on the north by the Equator, it consists of the northeast portion of the island of New Guinea as well as some 600 islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. Its 93,000 square miles are made up for the most part of rugged mountains covered by dense tropical vegetation, and its population of over 1,000,000 represents a variety of ethnic groups among whom over 50 languages are spoken. Because of these characteristics, Australia has found it difficult to make contact with the remote parts of the trust territory but expects by the end of 1954 to have the entire territory under full Government control.

The joint Legislative Council, provided for in the Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949, was formally inaugurated on November 26, 1951. This Council consists of the administrator, 16 official members, and 12 nonofficial members. Of this total 10 represent the trust territory, and 2 of these 10 represent the indigenous inhabitants. The Trusteeship Council expressed the hope at its tenth session that Australia will endeavor to insure further participation of the indigenous representatives in the legislative system of the territory, will intensify its efforts

to train indigenous inhabitants for more responsible posts in the administration, and will adopt a more vigorous policy of associating the indigenous inhabitants in the various other aspects of territorial life. The administering authority informed the Council that plans were under consideration that would enable native village courts to be established as a recognized part of the judicial system of the territory.

The chief economic activities of the territory are crop production, processing of agricultural products, and mining. In its report to the Trusteeship Council for 1951, Australia stated that although to a certain extent the development of agricultural and land resources would be accomplished by the indigenous people, the major development would, of necessity, be by Europeans possessing the necessary capital, technical knowledge and skills, and organizing ability. Administration policy was to encourage development by private enterprise so long as the rights and interests of the indigenous people were respected and safeguarded. The Council commended Australia for its efforts to introduce new crops suitable for cultivation by the indigenous population and urged it to pursue a coordinated policy along such lines wherever possible by encouraging the development of indigenous cooperative enterprises.

Since the availability of land for settlement is an important factor in the development of the territory, steps are being taken by the administering authority to determine the actual indigenous ownership of land and the further areas that can safely be made available for nonindigenous settlement. In order to safeguard the interests of the indigenous population, the Council requested Australia to proceed with caution in its policy of purchase and alienation of indigenous land.

The administering authority was able to report that the overall medical services had been increased by an estimated 25 percent during the year under review. However, the Council noted that there had been a decrease in the number of medical personnel during the same period. It therefore urged that all possible steps be taken to increase their number substantially and recommended that efforts to train indigenous medical personnel be intensified. Continued improvement in the field of education was also reported, but there was still a shortage of teachers, and the Council recommended that every effort be made to expand the teacher-training facilities.

NAURU

The Trust Territory of Nauru, administered by Australia on behalf of itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, is a small isolated island near the Equator in the Pacific. It has a population of 3,434,

of whom 47 percent are native Nauruans. The mining of Nauru's phosphate deposits, almost its only natural resource, is carried on by a company jointly owned by the three Governments and constitutes the main economic activity of the island. Most of the non-Nauruan population are Chinese workers employed for fixed periods by the phosphate company.

Since the phosphate deposits are expected to be exhausted in 70 years at the present rate of extraction and since the mined area is unfit for further use, the Trusteeship Council has been concerned with the long-range problem of the island's economic development. Following its review of the report on Nauru for 1951, the Council recommended that the administering authority continue to investigate all possible alternative means of livelihood for the inhabitants so as to secure a sound economic basis for their future.

The most notable change in the political life of the territory, which the Trusteeship Council has commended, was the enactment on August 20, 1951, of an ordinance that reconstituted the Council of Chiefs into the Nauru Local Government Council. The new Council's nine members are elected for not more than 4 years from district constituencies by adult suffrage. The Council may advise the administrator on any matters affecting Nauruans, including the making of new ordinances, and has the power, subject to the approval of the administrator, to make rules not inconsistent with the legislation of the territory for regulating the conduct of its business and for the peace, order, and welfare of the Nauruans. It may also finance and engage in any business or enterprise and provide or cooperate with the administrator in providing any public or social service.

WESTERN SAMOA

The Trust Territory of Western Samoa, administered by New Zealand, consists of two large islands and several lesser islands and islets lying to the west of American Samoa in the South Pacific. These islands, covered with rugged mountainous terrain, support a population of 83,128, of which 4,756 persons have European status.

Political changes instituted in 1948 by New Zealand have been carried into effect with the establishment of a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly. The Council of State, made up of the High Commissioner of the trust territory and the two Fautua, who are chiefs of the highest standing, is regularly consulted on matters affecting the welfare of Western Samoa. The Legislative Assembly consists of the Council of State, 12 Samoan members elected by the traditional Samoan governmental body called the Fono of Faipule, 5 elected European members, and 6 official members. In 1951 the

elections in the Fono of Faipule for the contested seats in the Assembly were conducted for the first time by secret ballot. With the approval of the High Commissioner, the Assembly enacts legislation on all purely domestic matters. New Zealand is considering further expanding the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the executive functions of the Government by setting up an executive council that would include Samoans.

In the economic field a primary problem has resulted from the steadily increasing population, which has created pressure for more land, especially along the northern coast of the main island, Upolu. In order to alleviate this pressure, the administering authority transferred 41,615 acres during 1951 from the Reparation Estates to the Samoan Government. This land had been held by the administering authority since the First World War, when it was taken over as reparations from German nationals. New Zealand also reported to the 10th session of the Trusteeship Council that progress in road construction during 1951 had opened up new areas of land for settlement in the interior. The Council, noting these steps with satisfaction, expressed the hope that further transfers of land will be made to meet the needs of the Samoan people whenever population pressure so requires.

The administering authority was able to report advancement in the field of social welfare, with an increase in the number of medical staff and the building of a tuberculosis sanatorium, and in education, with an increase in the size of the teaching staff and the construction of 16 new schools.

Trust Territories in West Africa

CAMEROONS UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The Cameroons under British administration consist of two mountainous strips of land extending along the eastern frontier of Nigeria from Lake Chad to the Atlantic Ocean. The territory has an estimated indigenous population of 1,083,000. It is administered by the United Kingdom as an integral part of the adjacent colony of Nigeria, sharing a common constitution, common budget, and common administrative and technical services.

At its 11th session in the summer of 1952 the Trusteeship Council welcomed the benefits that the inauguration of the new constitution for Nigeria and the Cameroons makes available to the trust territory in the form of representation on the regional and central executive and legislative organs. The Council also praised the introduction of modern methods of suffrage and the general experience gained by

the inhabitants in democratic methods of government. However, the Council noted that the indigenous inhabitants in some parts of the territory had been indifferent toward the first elections, and it therefore urged the United Kingdom to continue to foster by all practicable means the political education of the inhabitants and encourage them to play their full part in the operation of the new structure. The Council showed particular interest in the ways in which the administering authority is endeavoring to bring about the evolution of existing tribal and other local government institutions into more modern and democratic forms.

It has been the declared British policy to appoint Africans to senior posts in the civil service as rapidly as qualified candidates can be found. This policy has been widely implemented in Nigeria but only to a very limited extent in the Cameroons, where there are very few Africans with the necessary educational qualifications. In 1951, as in 1950, there were two indigenous inhabitants of the territory in the senior branch of the civil service. At its ninth session, the Trusteeship Council expressed the hope that an expanding scholarship program would result in an increasing number of Cameroonians in the senior services. The administering authority stated in the annual report for 1951 that there were 31 Cameroonians holding scholarships enabling them to pursue higher education, compared with 21 in 1950, and that the expanding scholarship program would undoubtedly lead to an increase in African senior service appointments.

Although the territory is poor in natural resources, the Council at its 11th session noted with satisfaction the continued buoyant economic situation and the particularly important contribution made to it by the Cameroons Development Corporation, both through its own operations and through the allocation of its surplus profits for the benefit of the territory as a whole. The Cameroons Development Corporation is a statutory public enterprise operating plantations which provide the territory's principal export product, bananas, as well as some rubber and palm products. A representative territorial conference met at Buea in 1952 for the purpose of determining the allocation of the profits earned by the Cameroons Development Corporation.

Although encouraged by the more favorable economic situation in 1951, the Council again drew attention at its 11th session to the predominance of banana products in the economy of the territory and recommended that the administering authority continue to give careful attention to the question of diversification of agricultural products.

CAMEROONS UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

The Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration covers an area of 166,795 miles in western equatorial Africa and includes the major portion of the old German colony of Kamerun. In shape it resembles a triangle and from the Atlantic coastal region tapers inland toward Lake Chad. It has the status of an "associated territory" in the French Union.

The Trusteeship Council, after examining the 1951 report on the French Cameroons at its 1952 summer session, commended the administering authority for the enactment in June 1951 of a law that further extended the franchise and expressed its satisfaction at the resultant marked increase in the number of registered voters. The Council also expressed interest in a law passed on February 6, 1952, whereby the Representative Assembly was transformed into the Territorial Assembly, with a proposed extension of its powers provided for in legislation before the French Parliament. The Council noted with satisfaction that the total membership of the new Territorial Assembly as well as the proportion of African representation had been increased and hoped that France would bring into operation political reforms on the regional and village level.

The territory is at present in a period of transition from an essentially agricultural and lightly equipped economy to one that under the strong stimulus of governmental and private investment is rapidly transforming its traditional resources and methods. The Council at its 11th session felt that the economic development of the territory was proceeding along sound lines. In particular the Council noted the expansion of trade, the implementation of the 10-year development plan, the growing industrialization of the territory, the increase of hydroelectric power, and the growth of investments by the administering authority and by private individuals. The Council also expressed its confidence that the economic interests of the indigenous inhabitants would continue to be carefully guarded and that, in particular, their rights to land and forest resources would be fully protected.

The Council took favorable note of the fact that surface and air communication and transport facilities were being extended and improved. Progress was also noted in the field of public health, the Council expressing satisfaction at the cooperation between the administering authority and the World Health Organization.

The General Assembly at its 1952 session granted oral hearings to representatives of several indigenous political parties from the French Cameroons. One of these sought unification of French and British Cameroons, questioned the inclusion of the French Cameroons in the

French Union, and asked that a time limit be set for Cameroonian independence. Others, who questioned the representative character of the first, sought political reforms under the existing administration. Inasmuch as the Trusteeship Council and the Assembly had not had an opportunity to examine the 1952 report of the administering authority on the French Cameroons or the report of the 1952 visiting mission to that territory, the General Assembly decided to ask the Trusteeship Council to investigate the questions raised by the petitioners and report on them to the next General Assembly.

TOGOLAND UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

Togoland under British administration is a narrow land-locked strip of territory lying along the eastern boundary of the British West African colony of the Gold Coast and administered as an integral part of that colony. According to the most recent census it has an African population of less than 400,000.

The most important political development in British Togoland in 1951 was the introduction of a new constitution for the Gold Coast and Togoland. While under this constitution the trust territory continues to be considered as an integral part of the Gold Coast, the special status of the trust territory is safeguarded by provisions to the effect that (1) any Gold Coast law repugnant to any provision of the trusteeship agreement would be to the extent of that repugnancy void in the trust territory and (2) the Governor may use his reserve powers to make certain that there is no infringement of the trusteeship obligations. At its 11th session, the Trusteeship Council, after examining the 1951 annual report, commended the United Kingdom on its further progress in implementing the constitutional reforms. It noted with special interest the satisfactory operation of the new executive and legislative organs and the reorganization of the regional administrative structure, attaching particular importance to the formation of the new Trans Volta Southern Togoland Administrative Region. The Council also commended the administering authority for having set in motion the establishment throughout the trust territory of new local councils, based on universal adult suffrage and with wider powers than the more traditional councils of chiefs and elders which they will replace.

The program to improve the local civil service of the Gold Coast and Togoland, a matter in which the Council has shown a continuing interest, made further progress during the year, including the establishment of a Public Service Commission, the revision of the organization and salary structures of the civil service, and the continued application of the policy of recruiting and training Africans for responsible posts.

Togoland is a preponderantly agricultural country in which the producers are exclusively Africans and methods of production generally primitive. The Togoland economy is closely integrated with that of the Gold Coast, both through the inward and outward flow of private trade and through such other arrangements as the unified budgetary and monetary structure and the controlled marketing of cocoa and other produce. The Council noted with satisfaction that the general economic situation of the trust territory has continued to be buoyant and that the development plan for the Gold Coast and Togoland has now assumed final form. Nevertheless the Council drew attention to the fact that the territory's economy continued to depend largely upon a single commodity, cocoa, and emphasized the importance both of diversifying primary production and of improving agricultural methods.

In the educational field the Council, while noting with approval that a system of primary education in the Gold Coast and the trust territory had been inaugurated in January 1952, nevertheless felt that much remained to be done in the provision of adequate educational facilities.

TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

Togoland under French administration is a small territory of limited resources which lies between British Togoland and the French territory of Dahomey. Like the French Cameroons, French Togoland has the status of an "associated territory" in the French Union. Its indigenous population is estimated at slightly over 1,000,000.

As in other territories in West Africa, the pace of political advancement in French Togoland has accelerated. The territory's Representative Assembly, whose members were previously elected in two groups by French citizens and by a limited number of Africans voting under separate electoral systems, was transformed early in 1952 into a Territorial Assembly elected by a much larger number of voters under a single electoral system. In addition a draft law that would extend the powers of the Territorial Assembly is at present under study by the French authorities. The Trusteeship Council at its 11th session commended France for the establishment of a single electoral system in all elections as well as for the expansion of the electorate and urged the administering authority to intensify its efforts to enable all potential voters to qualify for registration. The Council also welcomed the development of district councils and the increase of municipal councils, particularly the added functions given to the district councils in 1951 and the greater degree of participation by the indigenous inhabitants in local government institutions.

The most significant aspect of the territory's primarily agricultural economy during the year was its favorable trade balance. The process of opening up this relatively poor territory continues with improvements in communications, ports, railways, and public services made possible by funds allocated by France under a 10-year plan. The Trusteeship Council's 1952 recommendations emphasized the need for disseminating agricultural information to indigenous farmers, assuring the conservation and regeneration of the soil, combating plant diseases, and further developing secondary industries.

The Council noted that the health services had been further expanded and, in particular, that the proportion of the population suffering from sleeping sickness had been greatly reduced. Nevertheless it felt that a great deal remains to be done in this field. It considered that satisfactory progress had been made in education but suggested that, to meet expanding needs, an intensified effort should be made, particularly as regards teacher training, technical and vocational training of workers, and adult education.

Trust Territories in East Africa

TANGANYIKA

Of the three territories in East Africa under United Nations supervision, the Trust Territory of Tanganyika administered by the United Kingdom is by far the largest and is capable of the greatest development. Lying along the Indian Ocean south of the Equator, it covers 362,000 square miles and has a population of almost 8,000,000. Its very considerable agricultural and mineral resources are largely undeveloped because of such difficulties as water shortages, tsetse fly infestation, and an inadequate communications system. The development of the territory is also complicated by the multiracial character of its population, which includes significant European and Asian groups in addition to the large majority of Africans.

The 1951 report on Tanganyika was examined by the Trusteeship Council at its summer session in 1952 along with the report of the Council's second visiting mission to the trust territories in East Africa. The most important political development concerning the territory was the publication of the report of a Tanganyika Committee on Constitutional Development, which made important and controversial proposals relating to the territory's executive and legislative councils. While the Legislative Council was to continue to have a majority of nominated government officials, the Committee recommended that the unofficial representation be enlarged, with equal numbers chosen from the three races (African, Asian, European), and that within 3

years after the new constitution is established a system for electing rather than nominating such members should be worked out. The administering authority agreed that the objective should be to establish the new council not later than 5 years after approval of the Committee's recommendations.

The Trusteeship Council expressed the opinion that, while the proposal for equal representation of the three races in the Legislative Council represented a useful step as an interim measure, it did not offer a satisfactory long-term solution. It also shared the doubts of its visiting mission about the wisdom of delaying the legislative reforms for 5 years and hoped that they could be accomplished more rapidly. The Council expressed its interest in the efforts of the administering authority to develop a democratic system of local government, particularly its plans to establish on an interracial basis county and village councils, whose members are to be chosen as soon as possible on an elective basis.

The Council noted with satisfaction the rapid rate of Tanganyika's economic development and the measures taken by the administering authority to see that the interests of the inhabitants are properly safeguarded. It took particular interest in the rail and road building programs and urged continued emphasis on this important aspect of the territory's economic development. It also encouraged further efforts to mechanize agriculture as well as to improve the methods of African farmers.

A difficult problem of land distribution on the relatively temperate slopes of the high mountains in northern Tanganyika, where there are some European farms, was raised in a petition to the Council from members of the Wa-Meru tribe. These tribesmen objected to their forcible eviction from certain lands, which were to be made available for scientific cattle ranching, largely by Europeans. The United Kingdom representative explained that this eviction was necessary to complete a carefully planned land-utilization scheme affecting the entire area and that the tribesmen were to be transferred to more extensive lands being opened up and developed for them further down the mountain. The Council, while recognizing that the land scheme was in the overall interests of the indigenous inhabitants, was critical of the administering authority for the manner in which the evictions had been carried out, and recommended a number of steps to relieve the hardships suffered by the petitioners and to assist them in resettlement.

Representatives of the Meru people were granted a hearing on this problem when it was discussed during consideration of the Trusteeship Council's report to the seventh session of the General Assembly. Although a resolution more extreme than that adopted by the Trusteeship Council and opposed by the administering authorities, including

the United States, was approved in the Assembly's Fourth Committee after considerable debate, it was rejected in plenary session when it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority. The vote was 28 to 20, with 10 abstentions. A more moderate text, presented in plenary session and supported by the United States and most other administering authorities, was also rejected. It failed on a tie vote of 21 to 21, with 16 abstentions.

In the social and educational field the Council made recommendations on such matters as improving the status of African women, raising wage rates for lower paid Africans and improving their living standards, improving African housing in urban areas, regulating migrant labor, improving medical and health facilities, and expanding the educational program, particularly in postprimary, vocational, and teacher training.

RUANDA-URUNDI

The Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration is a small, mountainous, heavily populated area on the eastern border of the Belgian Congo. With almost 4,000,000 inhabitants in its 20,000 square miles, it is the most densely populated territory in Africa. Effective use of the meager land resources is made more difficult by the approximately 1,000,000 head of cattle that are kept by the inhabitants for their prestige value rather than for economic reasons. A land of extremely irregular rainfall, where the African forest has largely disappeared, Ruanda-Urundi is threatened by erosion, soil impoverishment, and periodic drought. The European and Asian populations are very small.

The Trusteeship Council has recognized the great difficulties faced by the Belgian administration in this territory and in its 1952 report noted the considerable progress achieved in the year under review, particularly in the economic and social fields. Nevertheless it reiterated its previous emphasis on the importance of increasing indigenous participation in the responsibilities of administration and of developing more democratic institutions of self-government. The Council was impressed with Belgian plans for dealing with the social and economic aspects of overstocking and urged that these measures be put into effect without delay. The Council also welcomed the prominence given to medical and health services in the administration's 10-year plan for Ruanda-Urundi and drew particular attention to the need for training Africans in this field. It urged more active participation by the administration in the educational program, which thus far has been left largely in the hands of religious missions. It also recommended increased facilities for secondary and higher edu-

cation for the inhabitants, including the provision of scholarships for study abroad.

SOMALILAND UNDER ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION

The most thinly populated of the East African trust territories is Somaliland under Italian administration. A barren, 600-mile-long strip of land lying between Ethiopia and the Indian Ocean, it contains about a million and a quarter inhabitants, the majority of whom are nomads. Formerly an Italian colony, this territory was placed under Italian trusteeship by a General Assembly decision in 1949. To assist Italy, the United Nations established an Advisory Council composed of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines. A unique feature of the trusteeship agreement for this territory, which focuses particular attention on its development, is the provision that it is to achieve its independence in 1960. The administering power, Italy, is also in a unique position since Soviet vetoes have kept it out of the United Nations. While Italy has been granted nonvoting participation in the work of the Trusteeship Council, the Council has expressed the hope that the General Assembly would continue to study ways and means whereby Italy might be enabled to participate as a full voting member in the work of the Council.

In the summer of 1952 the Trusteeship Council examined the second report submitted by Italy since it assumed responsibility for the trusteeship in 1950. The Council noted with satisfaction the steps taken by the administering authority to give political parties an increasing role in the political institutions of the territory and shared the hope expressed by the 1950 visiting mission that the leaders of these parties would play a more constructive role. One of the difficulties faced by the Italian administration results from the fact that the principal indigenous political party, the Somali Youth League, originally opposed the restoration of Italian administration over Somaliland, even for a limited period, and continues to be critical of the administration. The Council also recommended further steps to develop democratic institutions of self-government, such as direct elections to the municipal councils and the Territorial Council.

The problem of developing a productive economy in this extremely poor territory has been recognized by the Trusteeship Council as one of the most difficult problems faced by the administration; however, in 1952 the Council did note that the economic situation in the second year of Italian administration had shown improvement over the previous year. It commended Italy for cooperating with the technical assistance program of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and urged the administering authority to draw up a comprehensive

plan for economic development in order to encourage both the investment of private capital and further assistance from international agencies. The Council also approved the administration's measures to train Somaliland farmers in modern agricultural methods, which included the establishment of an agricultural school and of farmers' cooperatives.

Another important problem to which the Council devoted its attention was nomadism. Noting that the administering authority had sought assistance on this matter from a United Nations technical assistance mission and from UNESCO, it recommended the development of a comprehensive program to solve the political, economic, and social problems arising from nomadism. Other matters on which the Council made recommendations were the need to proceed with the development of a labor code, the need to expand medical and health services, the need for measures to deal with the serious dietary deficiencies in certain areas of Somaliland, and the importance of accelerating the expansion of educational facilities.

Special Trusteeship Problems

ADMINISTRATIVE UNIONS

The problem of administrative unions between trust territories and adjacent colonial territories under the sovereignty of the same administering power is one of the important and continuing problems confronting the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. The trust territories that are in varying ways united administratively with neighboring colonies are Tanganyika, with Kenya and Uganda, under British administration; British Cameroons, with Nigeria; British Togoland, with the Gold Coast; Ruanda-Urundi, with the Belgian Congo; and New Guinea, with Papua, under Australian administration. In addition, and with the consent of the French delegation, the status of the French Cameroons and French Togoland in the French Union has also been dealt with during consideration of this problem, although these territories are not involved in administrative unions with neighboring territories under French administration. It should be noted that the trusteeship agreements for all the trust territories except Nauru and Western Samoa authorize the administering authorities concerned to constitute customs, fiscal or administrative unions or federations and to establish common services between the trust territory and adjacent territories under the sovereignty or control of the administering authority where such measures are not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system and the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

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In order to insure that the operation of these administrative unions does not have the effect of extinguishing the identity and separate status of trust territories, the Trusteeship Council established in 1950 a Standing Committee on Administrative Unions. During 1952 this Committee continued its regular annual examination of each of the trust territories involved in an administrative union. It was also given the task of preparing a special report containing a complete analysis of each of the administrative unions to which a trust territory is a party and of the status of the French Cameroons and French Togoland arising out of their membership in the French Union. This special report, called for by the General Assembly at its sixth session, was approved by the Trusteeship Council at its eleventh session. It was then submitted to a General Assembly Committee on Administrative Unions for a preliminary examination before being considered by the Assembly at its seventh session. This Committee, composed of representatives of Belgium, Brazil, India, and the United States, reported to the Assembly that the special report was a valuable study of a complicated question and in general endorsed the report. It also prepared a draft resolution on administrative unions for the General Assembly's consideration.

This resolution, adopted by the Assembly with a few minor changes on December 21, 1952, requested the administering authorities to continue to transmit promptly to the Trusteeship Council information as complete as possible concerning the operation of the administrative unions affecting trust territories under their administration, indicating the benefits and advantages derived by the inhabitants of the trust territories from these unions. The resolution also expressed the hope that the administering authorities concerned will take into account the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants before establishing or extending the scope of the unions. The Trusteeship Council was requested to continue its regular examination of each administrative union affecting a trust territory.

The most controversial administrative unions issue at the 1952 session of the General Assembly was a proposal to refer the question of administrative unions and the status of the two French trust territories to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on their compatibility with the Charter and the trusteeship agreements. However, the large degree of doubt concerning the desirability of such a request, which was manifest in the Fourth Committee discussion of this proposal and which the United States shared, led the sponsors to withdraw it.

THE EWE AND TOGOLAND UNIFICATION PROBLEM

The Ewe and Togoland unification problem, a challenging issue which has arisen at every session since the Trusteeship Council was inaugurated nearly 6 years ago, was again considered by the Council in 1952. The Ewes, more than 800,000 strong, are a relatively advanced people living in West Africa who have a common language, traditions, and customs but are divided by the political boundaries of three territories—the two trust territories of British Togoland and French Togoland and the British colony of the Gold Coast. A movement for the unification of the Ewe people has joined forces with parties advocating the unification of the two trust territories as a whole. In response to the latest series of petitions on this matter and to a request of the General Assembly at its sixth session, the Trusteeship Council instructed its 1952 visiting mission to the trust territories in West Africa to make a special study of the Ewe and Togoland unification problem.

The visiting mission reported on October 25, 1952, that the demand for Togoland unification is "a live political issue," finding wide support in both British and French Togoland. However, from its examination of the large mass of material available, the mission believed that there was not at present wide enough support in the two territories for any particular form of unification to warrant a change in the existing administrative arrangements.

The mission's report recounted the efforts of the two administering authorities to deal with the unification problem through a representative Joint Council for Togoland Affairs. The mission regretted that only 12 of the 21 representatives envisaged for this organ had so far participated in its work. In seeking a solution to the unification problem, the visiting mission stressed the importance of an enlightened and sound public opinion, stating that the development of such an opinion depended largely on the development of the two territories in the political, economic, social, and educational fields.

During the Trusteeship Council's discussion of the visiting mission's report in November 1952, at the second part of its 11th session, a majority expressed general support for the visiting mission's conclusions. Further debate centered on a draft resolution introduced by the United States, a comprehensive proposal which, in effect, called for the Council's general endorsement of the mission's report. On November 25 the Council adopted a resolution, based on this draft, calling for the submission of the mission's report to the seventh session of the General Assembly as "an objective appraisal of the diverse aspects of this problem."

The General Assembly's Fourth Committee examined the special report of the Trusteeship Council, the Council's resolution, and the special report of the visiting mission and heard statements by representatives of the All Ewe Conference, the Joint Togoland Congress, and the *Parti Togolais du Progrès*. The Committee then adopted a draft resolution, which contained a paragraph calling for the unification of the two territories under a single trusteeship administration. This paragraph, proposed by Guatemala, was accepted by a vote of only 18 to 13 (United States), with 18 abstentions and 11 members absent, and was subsequently defeated in plenary session. The resolution was further modified in plenary session by the adoption of an amendment proposed by Venezuela and Argentina, recommending "that, as a first stage, the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs should be reconstituted, and re-established as soon as possible, by means of direct elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage exercised by secret ballot." This amendment was endorsed by the United States as giving the resolution the necessary flexibility. The resolution also contained a number of other recommendations, including a request to the administering authorities to expedite the economic development of the territories and, in this connection, to seek assistance from the United Nations technical assistance program. In its final form the resolution received wide support and was adopted by a vote of 55 (United States) to 0, with 3 abstentions.

PARTICIPATION OF INDIGENOUS INHABITANTS IN THE WORK OF THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

One of the problems considered by the General Assembly at its last two sessions that has caused friction in the United Nations among nations of the free world is the question of participation of indigenous inhabitants of non-self-governing territories in the work of various United Nations organs. On the one hand many United Nations members who do not administer non-self-governing territories want to give the inhabitants of such territories some form of direct participation in United Nations organs on the ground that such inhabitants are not now represented or are inadequately represented by the administering authorities. On the other hand most of the administering members feel that there is already adequate provision for the participation of indigenous inhabitants, including the possibility of hearings before the Trusteeship Council and its visiting missions. They also fear that any further participation might lead to a confusion of responsibilities by establishing a form of dual representation and might, in fact, undermine their authority over the peoples they administer. This problem affects both the United Nations Trusteeship Council

and the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. A discussion of this question as it affects the latter body appears in a subsequent section of this report.

The Trusteeship Council studied the problem, as the sixth General Assembly had requested, and at its eleventh session adopted a resolution in which it expressed the hope that the administering authorities would find it appropriate to associate suitably qualified indigenous inhabitants of the trust territories in the work of the Trusteeship Council as part of their delegations or in any other manner they deem desirable. The United States supported this proposal as representing the most practicable and satisfactory means of providing for closer participation of the indigenous inhabitants in the work of the Council.

During consideration of the Trusteeship Council's action at the seventh session of the General Assembly, some nonadministering members sought adoption of a resolution that would have called for direct participation of indigenous inhabitants in the work of the Trusteeship Council. This proposal was opposed by the administering nations as constituting a system of dual representation. Certain members, including the United States, urged that the limited form of participation recommended by the Trusteeship Council be given a trial, and after considerable discussion the Assembly on December 21, 1952, adopted a resolution in effect endorsing the Trusteeship Council's recommendation.

UNITED STATES SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM FOR THE TRUST TERRITORIES

On November 6, 1952, the United States notified the Secretary-General of the United Nations that it was making available, under the Information and Educational Exchange Act, funds for five grants to enable students from the trust territories to study in the United States during the 1953–54 academic year.

At its sixth session the General Assembly had adopted, by a vote of 47 in favor, none against and 8 abstentions, an Indian-sponsored resolution designed to aid the educational advancement of the trust territories. This resolution invited member states to make available to qualified students from the trust territories fellowships, scholarships, and internships and to notify the Trusteeship Council concerning the availability of such grants in public as well as private institutions. The resolution further invited the administering authorities concerned to avail themselves of and give full publicity to any offers that were made under this resolution, invited the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to give all appropriate assistance in the implementation of the program, and asked

the Trusteeship Council to report on the progress made to the next regular session of the General Assembly.

The Secretary-General has received offers of fellowships, scholarships, and internships, as recommended by the General Assembly, from three nations besides the United States. Yugoslavia has made available five scholarships and five fellowships to qualified students in the seven African trust territories, while India has offered four grants, one each for students from Togoland and Tanganyika and two for students from any of the trust territories. The Philippines has sent to the Secretary-General a list of those grants from Philippine institutions available to students indigenous to the trust territories.

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES OTHER THAN TRUST TERRITORIES

In accordance with chapter XI of the United Nations Charter members "which have or assume responsibility for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet achieved a full measure of self-government" undertake certain obligations to insure the advancement of these peoples. Among these is the specific obligation to transmit to the Secretary-General annually information of a technical nature on social, educational, and economic conditions in such of these territories as are not administered under the trusteeship system. The information is transmitted in accordance with a standard form, which is a topical outline arranged under educational, social, and economic headings. Political information may be submitted voluntarily under an optional category of the standard form. Full summaries and analyses of the information transmitted are prepared by the Secretary-General every third year. In intervening years, summaries and analyses of significant changes are prepared.

Committee on Information

Although the General Assembly receives this information annually, the Charter makes no provision for its examination. In 1946 the General Assembly provided for the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Special Committee on Information transmitted under article 73 (e). This Committee was renewed annually on an *ad hoc* basis until 1949, when it was established for a term of 3 years. In 1951 its name was changed to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. In discussing the information transmitted, the Committee may not single out individual administering members of non-self-

governing territories for specific recommendations but may make general recommendations in the economic, social, and educational fields for all territories. Unlike the Trusteeship Council the Committee on Information does not have authority to examine petitions or to send visiting missions to the territories concerned. Like the Trusteeship Council it does serve as a forum for the exchange of experience on the development of dependent areas.

This Committee has a membership balanced between those members who administer non-self-governing territories and those who do not have such responsibilities. It meets each year about 1 month before the opening of the General Assembly. Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States are members of the Committee by virtue of the fact that they transmit information on some 60 non-self-governing territories. In 1952 the members of the Committee elected on behalf of the General Assembly by its Fourth Committee were Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and the U. S. S. R.

The Committee's discussions are based on the summaries of information on the non-self-governing territories prepared by the Secretary-General and on special studies of conditions in these territories prepared by the Secretary-General and interested specialized agencies. From time to time, moreover, the General Assembly has referred to the Committee questions with political implications, such as human rights in non-self-governing territories and, more recently, self-determination in such territories.

Since 1949 the Committee has followed the practice of giving major emphasis at each session to one of its functional fields and in 1952 stressed social conditions in non-self-governing territories, submitting a special report to the General Assembly on this subject. Economic and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories, including international collaboration and assistance in these fields; the future of the Committee; and participation of non-self-governing territories in its work were also discussed at its 1952 session.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Committee's special report on social conditions gave detailed attention to race relations and human rights in the territories; public health; community, family, and child welfare; labor conditions and policies; standards of living; and international cooperation and assistance. It noted that the purpose of the development of non-self-governing territories was the advancement of the peoples of those territories and that this could only be achieved with the participation and cooperation of the peoples at all levels. The report also noted

the recent trend toward emphasis on creative and preventive social programs and toward the formulation of integrated social policies. Stress was laid upon the interdependence of economic development and social progress, and it was pointed out that, while economic development brings new problems of a social character, it is not possible to finance social services without the development of the territorial resources, in particular, increased agricultural production. While recognizing the efforts being made by the administering members concerned, the report indicated that the living conditions of many of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories urgently call for improvement.

The General Assembly at its seventh session adopted three resolutions relating to this special report. A resolution approving the report as a brief but considered indication of social conditions in non-self-governing territories was approved by a vote of 45 to 5 (Soviet bloc), with 2 abstentions. This resolution invited the Secretary-General to communicate the report to United Nations members, to the Economic and Social Council, to the Trusteeship Council, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

A second resolution, which referred also to the special reports submitted on educational and on economic conditions in 1950 and 1951, respectively, expressed the hope that administering members, when transmitting information under article 73 (e) of the Charter, would furnish annually as complete information as possible on any action taken to bring the reports of the Committee on Information to the attention of the authorities responsible for the implementation of educational, economic, and social policy in the territories and on any problems that arise in giving effect to the general views expressed in these reports. This resolution, which the United States supported but which certain other administering powers opposed, also invited the Committee on Information to consider the information transmitted under article 73 (e) of the Charter in light of the views expressed in these special reports.

The third resolution, which was submitted by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and which was adopted without an opposing vote, concerned racial discrimination. It recommended the abolition of discriminatory laws and practices contrary to the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It recommended further that administering members examine all laws, statutes, and ordinances with a view to the abolition of any discriminatory provisions or practices and called the attention of the Commission on Human Rights to the text of this resolution.

RENEWAL OF THE COMMITTEE

One of the most controversial items on the 1952 agenda of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and of the General Assembly's Fourth Committee was the question of the renewal of the Committee on Information. The 1949 Assembly resolution renewing the Committee for a period of 3 years had included the provision that the General Assembly would "examine in 1952 the question of whether the Special Committee should be renewed for a further period together with the questions of the composition and terms of reference of any such future Special Committee."

In the Committee on Information discussion of this matter, four points of view emerged revealing a fundamental divergence among members of the United Nations on colonial questions. Several administering authorities opposed the renewal of the Committee. The majority of the nonadministering authorities supported the principle of establishing the Committee on a permanent basis. There was also some sentiment favorable to the renewal of the Committee for a 4-year term.

The United States delegation proposed a compromise which would provide for the continuation of the Committee for a further 3-year period on the same basis as heretofore, i. e., with the same terms of reference and with provision for balanced membership between administering and nonadministering states. After defeating a Soviet-sponsored proposal to constitute the Committee as a permanent organ of the General Assembly, the Committee on Information adopted the resolution sponsored by the United States.

In the Fourth Committee during the seventh session of the General Assembly, 21 nations submitted an amendment to the resolution on renewal recommended by the Committee on Information. This amendment called for the continuation of the Committee "for as long as there exist territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government." In an effort to reconcile the opposing points of view and to enable United Nations activities in the dependent area field to continue on the same basis of cooperation as heretofore, the United States joined with Venezuela in suggesting an amendment to this 21-country proposal. In effect the United States-Venezuela amendment would have provided for the establishment of a permanent Committee, but it would have retained the principle of periodic renewal of the Committee for fixed terms subject to reexamination by the Assembly. It called for the continuation of the Committee for "an additional 3 year period and at the end of that time, unless otherwise decided by the General Assembly, to continue the Committee automatically thereafter for additional 3 year periods for as long as there exist territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full

measure of self-government." However, the phrase "for additional 3 year periods" in the United States-Venezuela formula was rejected by 23 votes to 22, with 9 abstentions. The United States was unable to vote for the resolution as finally adopted by the Fourth Committee, since it abandoned the principle of periodic renewal and provided that after a further 3-year term the Committee would become permanent unless the General Assembly decided otherwise.

In plenary session the General Assembly, by a vote of 12 to 18, with 30 abstentions, defeated that part of the Fourth Committee's draft resolution after the phrase "decides to continue the Committee on the same basis for an additional 3 year period." By so doing the General Assembly, in effect, returned to the formula originally proposed by the United States, which had been recommended by the Committee on Information. Before this vote the United Kingdom, Belgium, and France made it clear that their Governments would not be able to participate in any Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee that was established for a period longer than 3 years. An amendment sponsored by India, which has the effect of placing the question of the renewal of the Committee on the agenda of the 1955 General Assembly, was subsequently accepted by the Assembly.

As a result of the Assembly's action the Committee on Information is reestablished for the next 3 years with the terms of reference that have governed it during the past 3 years, with the same balanced membership between the administering and nonadministering authorities, and with the same work program whereby it gives major attention at each of its sessions to one of its three functional fields, i. e., educational, economic, and social conditions in non-self-governing territories.

After the Assembly had completed action on the renewal of the Committee on Information, it became necessary for the Fourth Committee, acting on behalf of the General Assembly, to elect four members to the Committee by virtue of the expiration of the terms of four of the eight nonadministering members. The Fourth Committee reelected Brazil and India and elected Iraq and China to replace Egypt and the U.S.S.R., respectively. The eight administering members of the Committee are permanent members so long as they transmit information under article 73 (e) of the Charter on non-self-governing territories.

PARTICIPATION OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

At its sixth session the General Assembly adopted a resolution in which the Assembly considered that "the direct association of the non-self-governing territories in the work of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies is an effective means of promoting progress

of the peoples of those territories toward a position of equality with member states of the United Nations." This resolution also called upon the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories to examine the possibility of associating the non-self-governing territories more closely in its work and to report the results of its examination of this problem to the General Assembly at its seventh regular session.

In the Committee discussion of this problem several points of view on the means of implementing the General Assembly resolution emerged, and the Committee was unable to arrive at a recommendation. One formula suggested by Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, India, and Pakistan would authorize the Committee to accept, on the proposal of the administering member concerned, the participation in its work of representatives of governments where the inhabitants have attained a wide measure of responsibility for economic, social, and political policies. India's representative suggested a form of associate membership on the Committee. Territories that had originally been listed as non-self-governing but on which information was no longer transmitted would have prior claim to this status. Next in line, he proposed, should come those territories that had achieved a measure of self-government wide enough to include a development of representative institutions and, in particular, legislatures with an elected element therein. He thought that such associate membership could be limited to four territories at each session, selected according to equitable geographic representation and with regard to the nature of the Committee's work at the session concerned.

Representatives of the major colonial powers stated that their governments considered associate membership to be a form of dual representation which they could not accept. They considered that so long as ultimate responsibility for a territory's administration rests solely with them, so must its representation in United Nations bodies. The United States representative, while recognizing the desirability of a close association between dependent areas and the work of the United Nations, also opposed dual representation. He stated that the United States was unable to support action that would create any form of representation for non-self-governing territories or their inhabitants in the Committee distinct from that of the United Nations members responsible for their administration. In the view of the United States the most practicable way of providing for a closer association of non-self-governing territories in the work of the Committee was to continue and intensify the practice, which had been followed in the past by some administering members, of attaching to their delegations suitably qualified persons from the territories. The United States subsequently introduced a resolution to this effect.

The same points of view that had been expressed in the Committee on Information were put forth during the Fourth Committee's discussion of this topic at the seventh session of the General Assembly. After considerable discussion, during which it became clear that most nonadministering members envisaged a form of representation for non-self-governing territories distinct from that of the members responsible for their administration, a resolution on association was adopted by the Fourth Committee by a vote of 40 to 10, with 4 abstentions. In this resolution the General Assembly considered it desirable that there be associated in the work of the Committee on Information qualified indigenous representatives from non-self-governing territories, and invited the administering members to make such participation possible. The resolution also invited administering members to transmit copies of the Committee on Information's reports on economic, social, and educational conditions, together with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, to the executive and legislative branches of these territories. The Committee on Information is invited to study further the question of the direct participation in its discussion on economic, social, and educational conditions of representatives of those territories whose inhabitants have attained a wide measure of responsibility for economic, social, and educational policies, and to include recommendations on this question in its report to the eighth regular session of the General Assembly.

The United States was unable to support this resolution, which was adopted in plenary session by a vote of 43 in favor, 11 against, with 4 abstentions, because its reference to the direct participation of representatives of non-self-governing territories in the discussions of the Committee on Information implied acceptance of the principle of dual representation. The United States continued to believe that the best means of associating non-self-governing territories more closely with United Nations work in this field is by widening the practice of attaching to delegations suitably qualified representatives of the indigenous population.

"Factors" Question

In the past few years several administering members have ceased to transmit information to the United Nations under article 73 (e) on certain territories under their administration. As a result the General Assembly has given considerable attention to examination of the "factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government," i. e., whether it falls within the scope of article 73 (e). The question was studied in 1951 by the Committee on In-

formation from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which prepared a report for the General Assembly. At the sixth session of the General Assembly the Fourth Committee appointed a subcommittee to examine the question further, and the report of the subcommittee, which included a list of "factors," formed the basis of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth session. This resolution called for a further study of the list of factors, invited members to transmit their views on the question by May 1952, and provided for an *Ad Hoc* Committee of 10 members to study the problem further and to report to the seventh session of the General Assembly. The United States was a member of this Committee.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee met from September 4 to September 9, 1952, and elaborated a revised list of factors divided into three sections: factors indicative of the attainment of independence, factors indicative of the attainment of other separate systems of self-government, and factors indicative of the free association of a territory with other component parts of the metropolitan or other country. The Committee did not consider that it was within its terms of reference to examine the question of what authority has the competence to determine that a territory has reached a stage of self-government where it falls outside the scope of article 73 (e) of the Charter. The Committee was also generally agreed that no enumeration of factors can do more than serve as a guide in determining whether a territory is fully self-governing and that each case would have to be determined by its particular circumstances.

In its consideration of the "factors" question and agreeing with the foregoing conclusions, the United States has borne in mind the different means whereby a territory subject to its jurisdiction might obtain a full measure of self-government under our constitutional system—be it independence as in the case of the Philippines, a commonwealth relationship as in the case of Puerto Rico, or statehood as contemplated for the territories of Alaska and Hawaii. It has also borne in mind the variety of ways in which self-government may be achieved by territories under the constitutional systems of other administering members.

The report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors was debated at considerable length by the Fourth Committee during the seventh session of the General Assembly. The problem of the competence of the General Assembly in relation to the determination of whether a territory is or is not non-self-governing was raised at an early stage of the discussion, and numerous opinions were expressed on this point. The majority of the nonadministering members were of the opinion that the General Assembly should have the authority, either exclusively or jointly with the administering member concerned, to decide when a territory has ceased to be non-self-governing within the mean-

ing of chapter XI of the Charter. The administering powers, including the United States, stressed that each administering member has the right to determine the constitutional position and status of territories under its sovereignty and that the decision whether to report on specific territories under chapter XI rests solely with the administering members concerned. The United States also recognized that the General Assembly had a legitimate concern over the interpretation of the expression "non-self-governing territories" as used in the Charter. In the United States view the General Assembly, for example, had the authority to discuss and attempt to define this expression, to recommend the consideration of any definition it might adopt, or even to express its opinion in general terms on the principles that have guided or may guide members in deciding on which of their territories they will transmit information.

The resolution on the "factors" question, finally adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 36 to 15, with 7 abstentions, approved provisionally the list of factors elaborated by the *Ad Hoc* Committee to serve as a guide both for the General Assembly and the administering members in deciding whether a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government. The resolution recommended that the list of factors be taken into account in any case that the General Assembly might examine concerning the cessation of transmission of information under article 73 (e) of the Charter. It recognized that each concrete case should be considered and decided in the light of the particular circumstances of that case, taking into account the right of self-determination of peoples. It declared that for a territory to be fully self-governing in economic, social, or educational affairs it is essential that its people shall have attained a full measure of self-government, as referred to in chapter XI of the Charter. The resolution likewise provided for the establishment of a new *Ad Hoc* Committee, of which the United States is a member, with instructions to carry out a more thorough study of the factors and to take into account the possibility of defining the concept of a full measure of self-government for purposes of chapter XI of the Charter. All members of the United Nations were invited to transmit their views on the subjects contained in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's terms of reference by writing to the Secretary-General by May 1, 1953.

The United States, while favoring full discussion of the "factors" question and having no objection to further study of the matter, was obliged to vote against the resolution, as did all the administering members, in view of the clear implication in the phraseology of the resolution that the General Assembly shares with the administering member concerned the competence to decide whether a territory is or is not non-self-governing and hence within the scope of article 73 (e) of the Charter.

THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES AND SURINAM

A related question arose from the decision taken by the Netherlands in August 1951 to cease transmission to the United Nations of information on the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam under article 73 (e) of the Charter. At its sixth session the General Assembly had postponed discussion of the question pending the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors and the outcome of the 1952 Round Table Conference between representatives of the Netherlands and those of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam. The seventh session of the General Assembly again deferred discussion of this question and referred it to the new *Ad Hoc* Committee on Factors, with instructions to "examine carefully the documents submitted by the Netherlands Government relating to the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam in the light of the resolution on factors adopted by the General Assembly and to report to the Assembly at its next session." The United States abstained on the resolution proposing this action in view of its disagreement with some of the principles embodied in the latest General Assembly resolution on the "factors" question.

South-West Africa

The former German colony of South-West Africa, which after World War I was placed under the administration of the Union of South Africa as a League of Nations mandate, is the only such mandate that has not either attained its independence or been made a trust territory under United Nations supervision. The question of the international responsibilities of the Union of South Africa in regard to this territory has been before the United Nations almost since its inception. In 1950 it was placed before the International Court of Justice, which held that, while the Union was not obligated to place South-West Africa under United Nations trusteeship, the mandate continued to exist and the Union was accountable to the United Nations to the same extent that it had been accountable to the League of Nations. An *Ad Hoc* Committee, on which the United States is represented, was set up by the General Assembly in 1951 to negotiate an agreement with the Union of South Africa that would implement the Court's opinion. While the Union has indicated its willingness to accept some form of international responsibility and while some progress has been made in the negotiations carried out between the *Ad Hoc* Committee and South Africa in a number of meetings held during 1951 and 1952, no agreement has thus far been reached. At its seventh session the General Assembly adopted a resolution, sponsored jointly by Brazil, El Salvador, and the United States, postponing

consideration of the question of South-West Africa until its eighth regular session, asking the *Ad Hoc* Committee to continue its task and requesting it to report to the eighth session.

WORK OF THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

The United States continued in 1952 its active participation in the work of the Caribbean Commission and the South Pacific Commission. The member governments of the Caribbean Commission are France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These four governments, together with Australia and New Zealand, also constitute the six members of the South Pacific Commission. While these two Commissions are not part of the United Nations system, all their member governments are members of the United Nations, and the aims of both regional organizations are in accord with the United Nations Charter. These two regional organizations are consultative and advisory bodies on economic and social matters of common interest to the member governments and to the 32 territorial governments in the two regions. Areas of United States interest in these two regions are the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands of the United States, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Each Commission is assisted by two auxiliary bodies—its Research Council and the West Indian Conference and the South Pacific Conference, respectively. The Research Councils are composed of expert scientists and technicians, the scope of whose advice ranges from high-level industrial development programs to practical advice on cooperatives or the establishment of schools for teaching basic vocational trades. Projects under the work programs of the two Commissions differ greatly in magnitude, some involving the training of hundreds of students, while others involve only short-term assignments of single experts.

The regional conferences of local representatives provide an opportunity for the peoples of the two areas to discuss freely their social and economic problems, to share their ideas and experiences, and to obtain the advantages of joint effort in dealing with matters of development and welfare. The conference recommendations, in turn, provide one of the fundamental bases for the Commission work programs.

Both organizations maintain secretariats, which serve as the nucleus for the Commissions' regional informational and advisory services. The headquarters of the Caribbean Commission is at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, while that of the South Pacific Commission is located at Nouméa, New Caledonia. Both Commissions provide expert advice and technical assistance in economic and social development, as well

as facilitate the exchange of experience and dissemination of knowledge on mutual problems throughout the areas.

Although the agreements establishing the two Commissions do not provide for any organic relationship with the United Nations, there is full exchange of information between the two Commissions and the United Nations, and cooperation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies on matters of common interest has been established. The United Nations and specialized agencies have been invited to attend the meetings of the regional conferences and technical meetings held under the Commissions' auspices, and in a number of instances some of the specialized agencies have participated in various Commission projects and cosponsored others.

Caribbean Commission

The energies and attention of this regional Commission are concentrated at present on various aspects of economic development in the Caribbean, particularly agricultural, forestry, and fisheries development; industrial development; and housing and basic education.

Two meetings of the Commission were held during 1952—the 14th in Guadeloupe, May 6–10, and the 15th in Jamaica, November 29–December 9. The fifth session of the West Indian Conference, an auxiliary body of the Commission, was held at Montego Bay, Jamaica, under the auspices of the Commission, November 24–December 4, with its central theme that of industrial development and vocational training.

This Conference was attended by 125 delegates, advisers, and observers from 14 Caribbean territories, 4 metropolitan governments, international organizations, and private institutions. It formulated a series of recommendations, which have been submitted to the Commission and the four member governments, designed to create the most favorable climate possible for attracting private capital investment in industry. Equal importance was attached to vocational education and general education in order to make the maximum use of one of the great resources of the Caribbean area—manpower.

The Conference unanimously accepted a statement submitted by the Netherlands Antilles delegation, which invited member governments to take early action to revise the basic agreement establishing the Commission "in the light of the new constitutional relationships of the territories within the Caribbean area, and in light of the demonstrated desire and ability of the peoples of the area to accept increased responsibility in solving the problems of the region."

The United States is now undertaking a study of the agreement and the alterations suggested by the Conference and by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

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During 1952 the Commission sponsored technical conferences on (1) industrial development; (2) home economics and education in nutrition, in conjunction with the Food and Agriculture Organization; (3) fisheries; and (4) hurricane warnings, in cooperation with the World Meteorological Organization. These conferences are a practical means of bringing technicians together both from within and without the area, of pooling knowledge of modern techniques, and of developing solutions to common problems. The recommendations of the Industrial Development Conference, for example, have been widely accepted throughout the region as a basis for governmental and individual action in promoting industrialization. The Conference on Nutrition included such subjects as agricultural extension work, training of teachers and extension officers, cultivation of food plots, use of local foodstuffs in school lunch programs, and manual training for men and boys. As a result of this Conference the Commission will hold a 3-month training course in Puerto Rico in 1953 for teachers and workers. The home economist assigned to this Conference by the Food and Agriculture Organization visited upon request 14 local governments to assist in organizing home economics programs and to conduct courses and give lectures.

Two technical cooperation experts in low-cost housing were made available to the Caribbean area under the auspices of the Commission for a 2-year period. They visited six territories, advised local authorities on housing programs, and conducted seminars. A pilot project, consisting of 50 low-cost houses, was set up in Surinam under the guidance of these experts. They investigated local building materials, trained local laborers and supervisors in the techniques of building their own homes, and advised local governments on financing and management of housing programs.

The Commission continued to act as the selection agency for the award of 30 Mutual Security Agency scholarships to students from the French, British, and Netherlands territories to be trained in vocational arts at the Metropolitan Vocational Training School in Puerto Rico.

In addition the Commission continued its program for furnishing guidance and assistance to local governments and private businessmen. Among these services were (1) loaning of its staff specialists to local governments, (2) maintaining regular reporting services on animal and plant diseases, (3) publishing special studies on *Fisheries in the Caribbean* and *Industrial Development in the Caribbean*, (4) compiling periodic reports in the economic and statistical fields, (5) publishing its general *Monthly Information Bulletin*, (6) loaning 162 documentary films for free showing. The publications of the Caribbean Commission are often used as textbooks on economic subjects in the school systems of the Caribbean since they provide the

only up-to-date information readily available on economic development.

South Pacific Commission

In its continuing work on behalf of the peoples of the area, the South Pacific Commission held two meetings during 1952, its ninth session from April 28 to May 7 and its tenth session from October 6 to October 16, both at the permanent headquarters at Nouméa, New Caledonia. The South Pacific Research Council, the standing advisory body auxiliary to the Commission, held its annual meeting at the headquarters from June 10 to June 24.

The major work of the South Pacific Commission for 1952 related to problems of public health and the control of diseases, fisheries, plant introduction and distribution, the development of cash crops, social welfare, mass literacy, community development, and vocational and fundamental education. Projects are designed to deal with the long-range as well as the immediate needs of the territorial governments. A number of requests from these administrations have been fulfilled, especially for exploratory surveys or for technical information and advice. Fifteen specialists in a wide variety of fields were employed by the Commission in 1952.

The plant quarantine expert assisted and advised five territorial governments on pest control problems, in addition to providing region-wide plant pest reporting service. The principal crop of the area, the coconut, was the object of intense research, particularly designed to improve varieties and to increase yields per acre. Secondary crops, such as cocoa and coffee, were also surveyed. A most valuable regional project, the introduction and distribution of economic plants to improve the food supply, was continued.

The Commission is providing expert health services to the territorial administrations. The majority of the Commission's health experts are devoting their attention to research in common tropical diseases of the Pacific—malaria, filariasis and elephantiasis, and yaws. With the objective of ameliorating the generally high infant mortality rate, a nutritionist has carried out field investigations to determine means by which the health of island mothers and infants could be improved by better feeding. Investigations of the incidence of leprosy in four territories were also completed. Within the framework of this project, medical officers and qualified medical practitioners from several territories studied at the Makogai Leprosarium in Fiji to gain experience in the diagnosis, treatment, and control of this medicosocial problem.

The South Pacific Literature Bureau encouraged the production of suitable reading material for the area, prepared model textbooks, stimulated literary efforts by island peoples, and promoted the dis-

tribution of simple, effective literature throughout the territories. Its activities also include the development and assessment of audio-visual materials and circulation throughout the territories of educational films, for which there is a great demand.

A thorough report on native housing was completed, together with various illustrated technical papers for use by the territorial governments. A Fisheries Conference held at Commission headquarters in May 1952 was attended by governmental experts and resulted in specific recommendations concerning methods of gathering, processing, transporting, and marketing of fish and of inducing people to increase the use of local fisheries products; promotion of training courses for fisheries officers; and suggestions concerning the prerequisites for fisheries development.

Plans were also completed in 1952 for the convening of the Second South Pacific Conference, which will be held at the headquarters of the Commission from April 16 to April 28, 1953. Local delegates and advisers from 18 dependent territories and the Kingdom of Tonga will attend.

At its tenth session the Commission further defined its relationship with the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The Commission noted that the participating governments had authorized it to cooperate in an advisory and consultative capacity with the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the International Civil Aviation Organization. It resolved that assistance might be sought and accepted from specialized agencies to further the work program but that, when the Commission proposes to enter into binding obligations with any of these agencies, the approval of all participating governments must first be obtained. Progress was also made on a plan under which assistance from private foundations and other non-governmental bodies could be sought in order to advance the work program.

While the Commission's first years were of necessity a period of experiments, both on the part of the Commission and of the governments concerned, basic policies have now been laid down, and the number of problems encountered have been minimized. Requests for assistance have been increased to an extent that indicates that the territorial governments look upon the Commission as of practical help in problems of health and of economic and social development. Now firmly established, the Commission and its work program have come to be recognized throughout the South Pacific region as constituting a highly significant and constructive contribution toward improving the welfare of the area and solving, by cooperative effort, the individual and common problems of its peoples.

PART IV

Legal Developments

The continuing United Nations interest in extending and strengthening the rule of law in the international community was demonstrated during 1952 in the activities of the International Court of Justice, the General Assembly, and the International Law Commission. The Charter established the International Court as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Under its statute the Court's function is to render judgments in contentious cases between states and to give advisory opinions at the request of other United Nations organs and agencies on the legal aspects of questions before them. More general activities designed to further develop international law have been centered in the General Assembly and its subsidiary organ, the International Law Commission.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

During 1952 the International Court of Justice handed down judgments in the Moroccan case between France and the United States, the Anglo-Iranian oil case, and the Ambatielos case between Greece and the United Kingdom. Proceedings were continued in the case between France and the United Kingdom regarding the sovereignty over the islets of Minquiers and Ecrehos and in the Nottebohm case between Liechtenstein and Guatemala. The Court handed down no advisory opinions in 1952.

United States-French Case Concerning Treaty Rights of United States Nationals in Morocco

The dispute in this case arose out of certain legislation of December 30, 1948, which was promulgated for the French zone of Morocco and which put into effect a system of controls prohibiting the importa-

tion of goods into Morocco by United States nationals except upon the issuance of a license by the protectorate authorities.

The submission of written pleadings in the case having been completed by the filing of the United States rejoinder on April 18, 1952, the oral proceedings took place from July 15 to July 26, 1952. The United States was represented by Adrian S. Fisher as agent and Joseph M. Sweeney as counsel. The Court rendered its decision on August 27, 1952.

The first point in the case concerned the validity of the French contention that the 1948 legislation did not contravene economic rights reserved to the United States. The alleged rights arose out of provisions of the United States-Moroccan treaty of September 16, 1836, and the Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906. The latter pledged France and Morocco to "the principle of economic liberty without any inequality." The French claimed that this enunciated principle was too vague to bar controls on imports into Morocco by United States nationals and that the issue was really one of enforcement of exchange controls which had been approved by the United States. France claimed that it had a duty to safeguard the financial and economic structure of Morocco and that the 1948 legislation was enacted pursuant to that duty.

Pointing out that French imports were exempted under the 1948 laws, the United States argued that import-control legislation was exactly what the parties to the Act of Algeciras meant to prevent by inserting the guiding principle of economic liberty without inequality. At that time commerce with Morocco was free, and the recognition of the protectorate could not be relied upon to justify a departure from economic rights guaranteed in earlier treaties.

The Court held unanimously that the economic principle stated in the Act of Algeciras was intended to be of a binding character and that the establishment of the French protectorate had not altered the situation. The 1948 legislation contravened United States rights because it discriminated between imports from the United States and imports from France. The same conclusion could be based on the right of the United States to equality of treatment under its treaty of 1836 with Morocco.

The Court then passed on the extraterritorial rights of the United States in Morocco based on the 1836 treaty. The Court ruled unanimously that the United States was entitled to jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases arising between its citizens. By a vote of 6 to 5, the Court rejected alleged United States jurisdiction in all cases where, irrespective of the plaintiff's nationality, an American national was defendant. However, by a vote of 10 to 1 the Court upheld United States jurisdiction in cases brought by a non-American against an

American to the extent required by the Act of Algeciras. The Court unanimously denied the United States claim that the application of Moroccan legislation to United States nationals always required the previous assent of the United States. The Court also considered and passed upon several questions of taxation and customs evaluation.

Anglo-Iranian Oil Case

This dispute arose out of Iran's nationalization of its oil industry, including the enterprise of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, a British corporation in which the British Government owns a controlling interest. In its application to the Court of May 26, 1951, the British Government claimed that the nationalization was a breach of international law because it abrogated a 1933 concession agreement between the company and the Iranian Government and because Iran refused to arbitrate the dispute as provided in the agreement. Upon a British request and over an Iranian objection to the Court's jurisdiction, the Court on July 5, 1951, issued an order indicating interim measures of protection that should be applied by the parties. The Court reserved its decision on the question of its jurisdiction in the case.

Iran filed a preliminary objection to the Court's jurisdiction, and by an order of February 11, 1952, the Court declared that the filing of this document suspended the proceedings on the merits of the case. The issue of the Court's jurisdiction hinged on the interpretation of Iran's acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction under article 36 (2) of the Court's statute. Iran's declaration of acceptance stated that compulsory jurisdiction was recognized "in any disputes arising after the ratification of the present declaration with regard to situations and facts relating directly or indirectly to the application of treaties or conventions accepted by Persia and subsequent to the ratification of this declaration. . . ." The Iranian declaration was ratified and entered into force on September 19, 1932.

In its judgment of July 22, 1952, the Court decided by a vote of 9 to 5 that it did not have jurisdiction in the case. It accepted Iran's contention that the phrase "subsequent to the ratification of this declaration" modified "treaties and conventions accepted by Persia," and not "disputes arising" as had been contended by Britain. The Court rejected the British contention that the concession agreement between the company and the Iranian Government, which had been concluded subsequent to ratification of the declaration by Iran, could be regarded as a treaty or convention within the meaning of the expression in the Iranian declaration, certain actions of the Council of the League of Nations regarding the future of the earlier D'Arcy

concession notwithstanding. The Court concluded that the contract between the company and Iran was private in character and not an "international agreement."

The Court also rejected as adequate bases for jurisdiction several treaties not between Iran and Britain but between Iran and third countries concluded subsequent to 1933. The British had contended that the most-favored-nation provisions of the Anglo-Persian treaties of 1857 and 1903 could be invoked in connection with Iran's treaties with third countries subsequent to 1933 in such a way as to give the Court jurisdiction in this dispute.

The Court, having decided that it had no jurisdiction in the case, stated that the provisional measures laid down in its order of July 5, 1951, had lapsed with the issuance of the judgment.

Other Cases

In the Ambatielos case, the Greek Government is espousing the claim of a Greek shipowner arising out of a contract with the British Ministry of Shipping. The Greek Government asked the Court to direct that the claim be submitted to arbitration under Anglo-Hellenic treaties of 1886 and 1926. The British filed a preliminary objection to the jurisdiction of the Court. In its judgment of July 1, 1952, by a vote of 10 to 5, the Court found that it has jurisdiction to decide "whether the United Kingdom is under an obligation to submit to arbitration." The Court's order of July 18, 1952, fixed January 6, 1953, as the filing date for the final written pleadings.

The Minquiers and Ecrehos case, in which the United Kingdom and France have asked the Court to determine the sovereignty of two groups of islets lying between the two countries, is still pending. The written pleadings were due to be completed on March 6, 1953. The other pending case is the case between Liechtenstein and Guatemala concerning the Nottebohm properties. It is not yet known when the written proceedings will be completed in this case.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Among the matters before the General Assembly at its seventh session were four questions relating to the further development of international law: codification of the topic "diplomatic intercourse and immunities," definition of aggression, international criminal jurisdiction, and ways and means of making the evidence of customary international law more readily available. The General Assembly also took

action, as noted in part II, on China's request for revision of the Chinese text of the Genocide Convention and made recommendations regarding General Assembly methods and procedures for dealing with legal and drafting questions. Other legal matters dealt with at the seventh session were of an essentially routine or administrative nature.

Codification of the Topic "Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities"

In a letter dated July 7, 1952, Yugoslavia requested the Secretary-General to place on the agenda for the seventh session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Giving priority to the codification of the topic 'diplomatic intercourse and immunities' in accordance with article 18 of the Statute of the International Law Commission." In its explanatory memorandum of October 10, 1952, and its presentation to the Assembly's Legal Committee Yugoslavia pointed out that the International Law Commission had provisionally selected diplomatic intercourse and immunities as a topic suitable for codification and that this subject was one of the least controversial fields of international law. While in the past no urgency had been felt for its immediate codification, Yugoslavia had charges concerning the treatment of its missions in Cominform capitals, which it wished to lay before the Assembly. In view of the fact that violations of international law in the field of diplomatic intercourse and immunity have "not only become more frequent, but are assuming an increasingly serious character and are . . . imperiling the maintenance of normal relations among states," Yugoslavia considered that this problem should be studied without delay.

The United States supported this Yugoslav initiative. Senator Theodore Green, of Rhode Island, the United States representative, pointed out to the Committee on October 30 that United States diplomats, as well as other United States citizens, had also been treated by the Cominform regimes without regard to the requirements of international law and custom. He set forth the facts regarding the refusal of the Cominform governments to allow our diplomatic representatives to help Americans who had been accused of serious crimes, such as William Oatis in Czechoslovakia and the four United States flyers forced down in Hungary. He also once again restated the facts regarding the prefabricated and unsubstantiated charges of subversion made against United States Minister Donald C. Heath by the Bulgarian Government, which had led to the severance of diplomatic relations.

The Legal Committee approved a resolution, which was subsequently adopted without change by the Assembly on December 5,

1952, by a vote of 42 to 5, requesting the International Law Commission, "as soon as it considers it possible, to undertake the codification of the topic 'diplomatic intercourse and immunities,' and to treat it as a priority topic." Use of the operative word "requests" and the inclusion of the phrase "as soon as it considers it possible" satisfied those delegations that were particularly concerned with the question of undue interference on the part of the Assembly with the work schedule of the Commission. The Committee did not adopt a suggestion by the United States, Lebanon, and others that the topic should be broadened to include the closely related subject of consular intercourse and immunities. Similarly, a suggestion by various Latin American delegations that the topic be expanded to include "diplomatic asylum" was not found acceptable by the majority.

Question of Defining Aggression

At its sixth session the General Assembly discussed at some length the question of defining aggression, and in a resolution of January 31, 1952, it instructed the Secretary-General to submit to its seventh session a thorough report on this subject. This report, dated October 11, 1952, discusses in detail both the historical and the theoretical aspects of the question, including the various forms such a definition might take and the legal value of different kinds of proposed definitions.

The Legal Committee's discussions of this problem at the Assembly's seventh session were extensive and reminiscent of those of the previous session. Senator Green of the United States delegation stated that it was still the position of his Government that, in view of world tensions, the time was not ripe for defining aggression and that at present nothing productive could come from further studies. The United States therefore proposed that, after delegates' views had been expressed, the Assembly adjourn indefinitely further discussion of the problem. However, this proposal was withdrawn in the face of clear evidence that the majority of the Committee favored further study of the question.

The Committee, and subsequently the Assembly on December 20, 1952, adopted a jointly sponsored resolution establishing a 15-member Special Committee to meet during 1953. The resolution also "requests the said Special Committee: (*a*) To submit to the General Assembly at its ninth session [1954] draft definitions of aggression or draft statements of the notion of aggression;" and "(*b*) To study all the problems referred to above on the assumption of a definition being adopted by a resolution of the General Assembly." A French proposal, which was supported by the United States, the United King-

dom, and many other delegations, to delete subparagraph (*a*) above was defeated in committee by a single vote.

The United States was one of the countries named to be represented on the Special Committee.

International Criminal Jurisdiction

A Special Committee on International Criminal Jurisdiction was appointed by the General Assembly at its fifth session to prepare a preliminary draft convention and proposals relating to the establishment and the statute of an international criminal court. This Committee prepared a draft statute during the summer of 1951, which the Secretary-General forwarded to governments for comment by June 1, 1952.

There was little or no discussion of the details of the Special Committee's draft statute at the seventh session of the General Assembly. The discussions were largely focused on the question of whether the Assembly should proceed at this time with the project of establishing a permanent criminal court. George Maurice Morris, adviser to the United States delegation and chairman of the Committee that had produced the draft statute, told the Assembly's Legal Committee that the United States "has neither favored nor disfavored the creation of an international criminal court" but "desires to be sure that this Delegation and this Committee have laid before them all those aspects of an idea which may reasonably be investigated before we make up our minds." It was with this purpose in mind that the United States cosponsored a draft resolution calling for the establishment of a special committee to undertake a further study of the matter. However, the Committee adopted by a vote of 23 to 16 (United States), with 7 abstentions, a Swedish draft resolution which merely postponed further consideration of the whole question until the eighth session of the the Assembly.

In the plenary session of December 5, 1952, the Netherlands introduced an amendment to the Committee's draft, which had the effect of substituting in the committee text the operative part of the draft resolution cosponsored by the Netherlands, the United States, and others in committee. The amendment carried, and the final resolution established a Committee of 17 states to meet in New York at an indeterminate date in 1953. This Committee, of which the United States is a member, is to examine the implications and consequences of establishing a court, the various methods whereby this might be done, and the relationship between such a court and the United Nations and its organs. It is also to reexamine the draft statute. The Committee will submit a report to the Assembly for consideration at its ninth session in 1954.

Ways and Means for Making the Evidence of Customary International Law More Readily Available

Pursuant to a General Assembly resolution of February 1, 1952, the Secretary-General submitted to the seventh session of the Assembly a report on the merits and feasibility of a juridical yearbook, a consolidated index to the League of Nations *Treaty Series*, a list of treaty collections supplementary to those already existing, and a volume containing a *repertoire* of the practice of the Security Council. Weighing the values against the cost, the Sixth Committee decided against the consolidated index to the League *Treaty Series*. It recommended, however, and the Assembly endorsed in a resolution of December 5, 1952, the publication by the Secretary-General of a list of treaty collections and a *repertoire* of the practice of the Security Council. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to prepare a study "of the extent to which developments in the field of customary international law and selected legal activities of the United Nations can usefully be covered by an expansion of existing United Nations publications, by the launching of new special publications of limited scope and by a United Nations juridical yearbook."

Methods and Procedures of the General Assembly for Dealing With Legal and Drafting Questions

At its sixth session the General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a 15-member Special Committee to study the problem of methods and procedures in regard to legal and drafting questions and to report to the Assembly at its seventh session. This Special Committee, on which the United States served, met in New York in August and September 1952. As its report states, "The majority of the Committee thought that, while existing methods and procedures for dealing with legal and drafting questions had not yet led to any serious abuses, nevertheless they were susceptible to improvement, and that such improvement would make it more certain that there would be no abuses in the future."

A minority of the Committee, which included the United States on most points, felt that present procedures were adequate and that the suggestions of the majority were too compulsive and too inflexible. They thought that the Committee's recommendations, which would make necessary double consideration of problems by two main committees or by a main committee and a subcommittee of the Assembly, would needlessly prolong the duration of sessions. Some delegations believed that the Special Committee's recommendations should be lim-

ited to suggested methods that a committee might use at its discretion.

The Special Committee's recommendations, which in general had been adopted by votes of 8 or 9 in favor to 4 or 5 against, were as follows:

(*a*) all Assembly requests to the International Court of Justice for advisory opinions *shall* be referred for advice on their legal and drafting aspects to the Assembly's Legal Committee, or to an *ad hoc* subcommittee of the committee originally contemplating such a request;

(*b*) when any Assembly committee contemplates recommending that a matter be referred to the International Law Commission, it *shall* consult the Legal Committee on the advisability and the drafting of such a reference;

(*c*) all recommendations concerning changes in the Assembly's rules of procedure *shall* be referred to the Legal Committee for its advice on drafting and on any consequential amendment;

(*d*) when a committee considers the legal aspects of a question important, it *shall* refer it to the Legal Committee or to an *ad hoc* subcommittee of the committee concerned;

(*e*) committee chairman, vice-chairman and rapporteurs *shall* meet and consult with Secretariat officials to examine draft resolutions from the point of view of style, form, and the use of technical terms.

When these recommendations were considered by the Legal Committee, the same differences of opinion that were evident in the deliberations of the Special Committee manifested themselves anew. The United Kingdom, which had shown a great deal of initiative in regard to this item in both Committees, introduced a resolution under which the Assembly would adopt the recommendations of the Special Committee without change and as binding rules of procedure. The United Kingdom delegation believed that such a course of action might not go as far as was desirable and would represent an irreducible minimum of improvement in the Assembly's procedures.

Other delegations, including the United States, did not favor the adoption of the Special Committee's recommendations. They believed that the proposed system was excessively rigid, would overburden the Legal Committee, and would prolong Assembly sessions. To attempt to separate legal and political aspects of a question, they believed, was futile and provocative of endless debate.

Voting on various parts of the United Kingdom draft resolution was extremely close. By votes of 24 to 22 and 24 to 21, respectively, the Committee defeated amendments to make reference to the Legal Committee permissive rather than compulsory in the case of advisory opinions (recommendation (*a*)) and International Law Commission consideration (recommendation (*b*)). An amendment to delete recommendation (*d*) concerning reference of all legal aspects of questions

to the Legal Committee was defeated by a tie vote of 24 to 24, with 4 abstentions. Recommendation (*e*), which related to consultations for purposes of style and form, was deleted by a vote of 23 to 22, with 7 abstentions.

When the Legal Committee's report was considered in plenary session on November 6, 1952, attempts to amend the resolution in order to make it less mandatory were more successful. The Assembly adopted amendments to recommendations (*a*) and (*b*), making reference to the Legal Committee permissive, but rejected by a tie vote an amendment that would have had a comparable effect in the case of recommendation (*d*). With these amendments the proposal as a whole carried by a large majority. The second operative paragraph of the resolution directed that the foregoing recommendations should be embodied as an annex to the General Assembly's rules of procedure.

PART V

Budgetary, Financial, and Administrative Matters

In 1952, there was further progress in strengthening the administrative and financial organization of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Continuing efforts were made to direct available resources into programs of major importance and to bring about a somewhat more equitable sharing of costs among the 60 member states. Important developments relate to (1) budgets; (2) assessments; (3) secretariats; (4) the United Nations permanent headquarters; (5) the United Nations postal administration; and (6) organizational interrelationships.

BUDGETS

Total assessments of approximately $78,200,000 were authorized during 1952 in support of the 1953 regular budgets of the United Nations and the eight specialized agencies financed primarily from annual member contributions. The comparable figure for 1952 was $76,900,000. The increase for 1953 is due in large measure to certain costs of the United Nations itself. The United States has insistently opposed too rapid expansion in the budgets of the specialized agencies, and with the exception of the World Health Organization, for which there is an increase of approximately $380,000, the budgets of these agencies are continuing at approximately the previously established levels.

The 1953 assessment budget of the United Nations itself is $44,200,000, which exceeds by $1,260,000 the comparable figure for 1952. One factor in the increased cost of the United Nations is an addition of $500,000 to the annual amortization payment to the United States on the headquarters loan under the terms of the headquarters loan agreement. Other new 1953 cost elements include building maintenance costs for a full year's operation of the new General Assembly building; the expense resulting from the General Assembly's decision to

make Spanish one of the working languages of the Economic and Social Council and its subordinate bodies; and the additional expense of holding the 16th session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva rather than in New York. Only vigorous efforts to obtain sizable reductions in regular expenditure items prevented a much more marked increase. Certain items show substantial economies in 1953, for example, contractual printing and official travel, and savings made possible by the fact that United Nations responsibilities for the disposition of the former Italian territories in Africa have now been substantially discharged.

In addition to the regular programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, which are financed through assessments, there are special operating programs financed by voluntary contributions. Pledges of governments to the expanded program of technical assistance for 1953 amounted to $20,863,575.[1] The 1953 requirements for relief alone of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East are approximately $23 million. The General Assembly authorized in 1951 an initial budget of $250 million for the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, and of this amount a total of approximately $206 million has been pledged. In November 1952 after consultation with the United Nations Command, the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency adopted a $70 million program for commitment during the remainder of fiscal year 1953. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund continued its program as authorized by a General Assembly resolution of 1950, with a target program and budget of $20 million for the year ending June 30, 1953. Funds for these several operating programs are solicited by the United Nations Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds, which has been established to discuss with representatives of United Nations member governments, as well as of nonmember governments, the amounts they might be able to contribute. In addition, the countries whose airlines use the Atlantic crossing continued to contribute to the joint support program of the International Civil Aviation Organization for the maintenance and operation of certain air-navigation facilities in the territory of countries unable financially to support these facilities entirely at their own expense.

The General Assembly at its seventh session again increased the amount of the working capital fund above its original $20 million level. The Assembly transferred $260,797 to the fund from the balance of the surplus account as of the end of 1951, and retained in the fund the $1,239,203 temporarily transferred to it by the Assembly

[1] Pledges of this amount were formally announced at the Third Technical Assistance Conference in February 1953.

at its sixth session from the 1950 surplus account. As a result, the established level of the working capital fund for 1953 is $21,500,000. This increase was considered necessary because of the heavy demands that are made on the fund to help finance current United Nations operations pending the receipt of contributions, and the need for maintaining a minimum reserve to meet any unforeseen and extraordinary expenses relating to the maintenance of peace and security.

ASSESSMENTS

The percentage assessments of the United States for the regular expenditure budgets of the United Nations and the larger specialized agencies for the calendar years 1952 and 1953 are as follows:

	1952 percent	1953 percent
United Nations	36. 90	35. 12
Food and Agriculture Organization	30. 00	30. 00
International Civil Aviation Organization	24. 97	27. 00
International Labor Organization	25. 00	25. 00
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	33. 33	33. 33
World Health Organization	33. 33	33. 33

Each of these organizations adopts its own scale of assessments, taking into consideration the particular membership of the organization, appropriate maximum and minimum shares, the relative capacity of members to pay, and, in certain cases, other special factors. In the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization the principle that no country in normal times should contribute more than one-third of total assessments for the ordinary budget was fully implemented in 1952. The 1953 assessment scales of these two organizations continue to give effect to this "ceiling principle."

In the United Nations, which was the first to accept the one-third ceiling in principle, the reduction of the United States share for 1953 by 1.78 points to 35.12 percent is the fourth consecutive step since 1949 toward implementing the ceiling. The United Nations scale of assessments for 1953, approved by the General Assembly on the recommendation of its Committee on Contributions, brings about certain smaller reductions in the assessments of 25 other countries and increases for 9 countries. Among these latter is the Soviet Union, whose share (together with Byelorussia and the Ukraine) is increased by 2.85 points to 14.34 percent, and Poland, whose share is increased 0.22 points to 1.58 percent.

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These adjustments are similar in general to those made last year. They continue the process of gradual adjustment to take account of the changed economic conditions of many countries. The scale also reflects a somewhat heavier allowance for countries with low per capita income than has been the case in the past.

The United States Congress attached a proviso to the 1952 appropriation for contributions to international organizations forbidding United States representatives to organizations covered by this appropriation (other than inter-American organizations) to commit the United States to a contribution in excess of 33⅓ percent, except after consultation in exceptional circumstances with the two appropriations committees. The Congress also attached a proviso to the 1953 appropriation as follows:

"No representative of the United States Government in any international organization after fiscal year 1953 shall make any commitment requiring the appropriation of funds for a contribution by the United States in excess of 33⅓ percentum of the budget of any international organization for which the appropriation for the United States contribution is contained in this Act: *Provided, however,* That this section shall not apply to the United States representatives to the inter-American organizations. . . .

The United States delegation to the seventh session of the General Assembly vigorously urged the immediate reduction of the United States share to 33⅓ percent. It pointed in particular to the fact that the Soviet Union and the other Soviet and satellite countries, in spite of substantial increases in their contributions in 2 successive years, would still be benefiting to some extent in 1953 from the initial modification of their assessments which had been accorded them in 1946 on account of their war devastation and immediate postwar financial problems.

The issue for most delegations was not whether the one-third ceiling principle should be honored; there was general acceptance that the principle must be honored. The prevailing view among other delegations was, however, that the adjustment for the United States, as well as adjustments for a number of other countries, should be made in two steps rather than one, in order to avoid too sudden a dislocation in the contribution scale as a whole. In the end, the Assembly accepted without change the scale for 1953 recommended by the Committee on Contributions. The Assembly also stipulated, however, that after 1953 the assessment of the largest contributor shall not exceed one-third of total assessments. The resolution embodying the 1953 scale and the decision on the one-third ceiling for 1954 was accepted in plenary session by a vote of 44–6 (Argentina and the Soviet bloc), with the United States and Pakistan abstaining. In the course of explaining the United States abstention, Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, as spokesman for the United States delegation, stated that, "any commitment of the United States to contribute more than

33⅓ percent is based on the provisions of the Charter and not on the vote of the United States delegation."

The action of the General Assembly limiting the assessment of the largest contributor, i. e., the United States, to one-third as of January 1, 1954, is the culmination of a number of years of effort on the part of United States delegations to the United Nations. Beginning with Senator Vandenberg in 1946, United States spokesmen have worked unremittingly to bring about this result.

SECRETARIATS

A comparison of the size of the secretariats of the United Nations and the major specialized agencies for the years 1951 and 1952 shows the following:

	1951	1952
United Nations	4, 368	4, 504
Food and Agriculture Organization	639	754
International Civil Aviation Organization	407	418
International Labor Organization	556	589
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	837	909
World Health Organization	712	861
International Bank	429	425
International Monetary Fund	438	428
Total	8, 386	8, 888

During 1952 the major secretariat problems of common concern to the United Nations and the specialized agencies were as follows:

Development of Common Staff Regulations

The permanent staff regulations adopted for the United Nations by the General Assembly in 1951 had been the subject of prior joint consideration by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and were formulated in broad terms so as to permit maximum adaptability to the circumstances of the various agencies without destroying the basic common pattern so necessary to build up an integrated international civil service. During the year the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization all took the necessary steps to bring their staff regulations into substantial agreement with those adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Promotion of Greater Uniformity of Salaries and Allowances

Adjustment of Salaries to Cost of Living Changes.—One issue to which careful attention was given during the year by the Administrative Committee on Coordination of the United Nations and the specialized agencies was the problem of keeping salaries as equitable as possible in the face of changing living costs in the various regions of the world where these agencies employ personnel. The objective was to find a system of salary adjustment that avoids the necessity for frequent and time-consuming cost surveys, permits systematic adjustment for all agencies concerned, and allows immediate relief in those areas where cost-of-living changes may be sudden and extreme. No entirely satisfactory answer has yet been found that will provide the needed uniformity among the various organizations and at the same time permit of the budgetary control desired by the various governing bodies. This problem will be given continuing attention during 1953.

Agreement Relating to Allowances.—With a view to achieving common standards, special consideration has also been given by the United Nations and the specialized agencies to the problem of determining uniform conditions governing entitlement to repatriation and education grants. In addition, a substantial measure of interagency agreement has been reached within the past year on policies and procedures governing payment of compensation for death, injury, and/or disability incurred while on duty.

Amendment of the Regulations of the Joint Staff Pension Fund

Since the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund was established in 1948, five specialized agencies have brought their employees under the United Nations system: the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the International Labor Organization. As a result of experience gained in administering the Pension Fund regulations, the representatives of the United Nations and the specialized agencies serving on the Joint Staff Pension Board recommended to the seventh session of the General Assembly certain changes necessary to eliminate ambiguities in the regulations and to improve the administration of the Fund. The majority of these recommendations were accepted by the Assembly, and certain others were referred back to the Board for further study. This action represents the culmination of several years' effort to coordinate agency standards, practices, and interpretations for purposes of pension administration.

Improvement of Personnel Standards

Review of Competence.—In the process of giving full effect to the new staff regulations, the United Nations and several of the specialized agencies have been engaged during 1952 in making an extensive review of the qualifications of their staff members. The United Nations Secretary-General, in accordance with his commitment to the sixth session of the General Assembly, proceeded to review the status of all temporary staff members with more than 2 years' service to determine their general suitability for appointment as permanent staff members.

To assist him in carrying out this task, the Secretary-General appointed a special selection committee under the chairmanship of F. P. Walters, former Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations. This committee included representative senior officials of the United Nations, plus a member nominated by the Staff Council. Following the Selection Committee's recommendations, the Secretary-General granted an additional 243 permanent appointments in the Professional Service and in the General Service. This means that at the present time in the Professional Service at headquarters, there are, out of some 1,270 established posts, 884 staff members serving under permanent appointment. Also on the advice of the Selection Committee, the Secretary-General terminated the appointments of 59 staff members. During 1953 the Selection Committee will complete its review of headquarters personnel, and it has already begun its review of the status of temporary staff serving in overseas offices.

In response to the directive of its General Conference, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization also undertook a review during late 1951 and early 1952 of the qualifications of all staff members in the director and professional categories. As a result of this review, 4 persons were terminated, and 21 were given a trial period during which to improve their standard of performance. At the expiration of their probationary period, each of the 21 staff members had satisfactorily met the standard.

Compliance with Fundamental Obligations of Staff Members.—As a result of investigations and charges made by a United States Federal Grand Jury and the Internal Security Subcommittee of the United States Senate regarding the subversive character of the activities of certain United States citizens employed by the United Nations, the Secretary-General on October 22, 1952, appointed an international Commission of Jurists to advise him on the action he should take to meet the situation. The Commission was composed of the following members:

William D. Mitchell (former United States Attorney General)
Sir Edwin Herbert (former Director of Censorship in the United Kingdom and presently a private attorney of international repute)
Professor P. Veldekin (Belgian professor of international law)

The Secretary-General placed before these jurists a series of questions with regard to United Nations staff members of United States nationality. The Report of the Commission of Jurists was issued on November 29, 1952, and provides a body of doctrine that justifies the elimination of subversives from international employment. On the basis of this report, the Secretary-General has formulated certain personnel policies which are being presented to the General Assembly for its consideration at the second part of its seventh session.

While the United Nations has been the primary forum in which this issue has been raised, the matter has also arisen with respect to the specialized agencies, and the outcome in the United Nations will be closely followed by these agencies.

The United States attaches great importance to the prevention of employment by international secretariats of individuals who are engaged, or likely to be engaged, in subversive activities against any member state. At the same time, the United States clearly recognizes the necessity to preserve the prerogatives of the heads of international organizations to exercise independent judgment in the personnel selection process. It was with both objectives in mind that an Executive order was developed under which the United States undertakes to furnish information to the heads of international organizations that will make it possible for them to discharge or avoid appointment of subversive, or likely to be subversive, Americans.[1]

PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS

The General Assembly building, the final major unit in the United Nations headquarters construction project, was completed on schedule in October 1952, in time to accommodate the seventh session of the General Assembly. For the first time, the United Nations now has a completed permanent headquarters with ample facilities for its work. The City of New York has continued the improvements it agreed to make around the site. Construction of the First Avenue traffic underpass, which had been delayed by a shortage of structural steel, is now nearing completion, and other city improvements are scheduled for completion early in 1953.

The cost of constructing, landscaping, and furnishing the headquarters buildings has been met primarily out of the $65 million

[1] Executive Order 10422, which was issued on Jan. 9, 1953.

interest-free loan authorized by the United States Congress in an act approved on August 11, 1948. By the end of 1952, the United States Government had advanced to the United Nations the entire amount of $65 million from the loan fund. These payments have been made pursuant to the terms of the headquarters loan agreement included as a part of the authorizing legislation. As stipulated in the loan agreement, repayment of the loan began with an installment of $1 million on July 1, 1951. Another payment of $1 million was made on July 1, 1952, and a third payment, in the amount of $1,500,000, is provided in the United Nations budget for the calendar year 1953.

Increased construction costs of some 19 percent over the original 1947 estimates necessitated numerous economies, changes, and substitutions in the course of construction. In spite of all efforts, the cost of the completed project will exceed somewhat the original budget of $65 million. A supplemental expenditure of $3 million for completion of the headquarters project was authorized by the sixth session of the General Assembly. Of this amount, $1 million was appropriated as a part of the regular 1952 budget, and $1 million was appropriated by the seventh session as a part of the 1953 budget. The Secretary-General has been authorized to draw upon the Working Capital Fund during 1953 for amounts not to exceed the final $1 million.

Throughout the year increasing interest was shown by the governments of member states and other agencies in making donations and appropriate gifts to the United Nations for use in the headquarters. In addition to the substantial contributions of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden for the decoration and furnishing of the three large council chambers, the United Kingdom supplied interior design and complete furnishings of a main committee room in the General Assembly building. Israel donated 4,000 square feet of Jerusalem stone to be used in the landscaping of the grounds. Canada provided for the design and fabrication of seven nickel-silver ornamental entrance doors for the General Assembly building, which were installed in September 1952. New Zealand and Australia both gave the United Nations native wood paneling for certain areas in this building. Belgium has made arrangements for a gift of tapestry for a large wall space, and fine rugs have been given by India, Ecuador, Turkey, and Iran. Many other gifts have been received or are in prospect from member governments and other donors.

In dealing with all problems connected with the headquarters project, the Secretary-General has continued to have the assistance of a Headquarters Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives of 16 member states, including the United States.

To assist the great number of visitors who wish to make a tour of the new headquarters buildings, a guide service has been provided since

October 1952 on a contract basis by the American Association for the United Nations. The service, for which visitors are charged a fee, is to operate on a nonprofit basis. To January 1, 1953, more than 80,000 persons had made use of this service.

UNITED NATIONS POSTAL ADMINISTRATION

The widespread public interest in the first issues of United Nations postage stamps was highlighted in the Secretary-General's report to the seventh session of the General Assembly on the first full year of operation of the United Nations Postal Administration. During the months of October, November, and December 1951, when these stamps in 15 denominations were issued, inquiries and orders averaged about 6,000 a week. For the 3 first days of issue during this period, the United Nations Postal Administration processed over a million first-day covers.

Under the terms of the postal agreement between the United States and the United Nations, the United States Post Office Department which operates the United Nations Post Office station provides, at prevailing rates, all the services offered by any United States Post Office having comparable operations. However, the United Nations station uses exclusively United Nations postage stamps and United Nations postmarks. The United Nations arranges for the production of all stamps, and furnishes free of charge to the United States postal authorities operating the station the quantities of such stamps required to meet the needs of the station. Such stamps are valid only for mail matter posted at the United Nations Post Office station.

The United Nations station is occupied primarily with handling the large volume of United Nations official mail, the United Nations paying for the services rendered at the rates prevailing in United States Post Offices. All revenue derived from the operation of the station is retained by the United States Post Office Department. The United Nations maintains a separate office to handle sales of United Nations postage stamps for philatelic purposes, and retains the revenue derived from these sales. Primarily on account of the initial issues of United Nations stamps in 15 denominations for regular mail and air mail, the United Nations in this period received a substantial revenue from philatelic sales. Total net revenue to the United Nations through July 1952 on this account was approximately $475,000.

In order to accommodate visitors to the headquarters who may wish to obtain United Nations stamps, the United States and the United

Nations in November formally agreed to eliminate the provision of the postal agreement that limited the United Nations to the sale of stamps only in response to orders received by mail. As a result of this amendment, the United Nations is making the stamps available for sale in the public area of the headquarters. A place is now provided in the same area for the deposit by the public of mail stamped with United Nations stamps for delivery to the United Nations Post Office station. The United Nations will reimburse the United States Post Office Department in the amount of the face value of all stamps used for mailing purposes.

Other operating problems under the postal agreement have been overcome through close collaboration between officials of the United States Post Office Department and the United Nations Postal Administration. Moreover, the initial delays in meeting the overwhelming number of requests for stamps during the latter months of 1951 have now been reduced to a minimum.

During 1952 the United Nations issued two commemorative stamps. The first was brought out on October 24, the seventh anniversary of the coming into force of the Charter; the second, in two denominations, was issued on December 10 to commemorate the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

ORGANIZATIONAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

Further progress in the continuing process of bringing into clearer focus the priority activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies was achieved in 1952. The Economic and Social Council has continued to provide leadership to the specialized agencies in securing concentration of resources on the most important and urgent problems. Joint activities among the specialized agencies and with the United Nations characterized the work being performed to secure the economic and social objectives of the United Nations.

During the year the Economic and Social Council at its 14th session established a list of United Nations priority programs in the economic and social fields. The six major priority programs were: increased food production and distribution; increased production in fields other than food; measures for promoting domestic full employment and economic stability within an expanded economy; acceleration of welfare, social security, and basic public health programs; development of education and science; and formulation and wider observance of human rights. Contributory programs to these major priorities were also suggested.

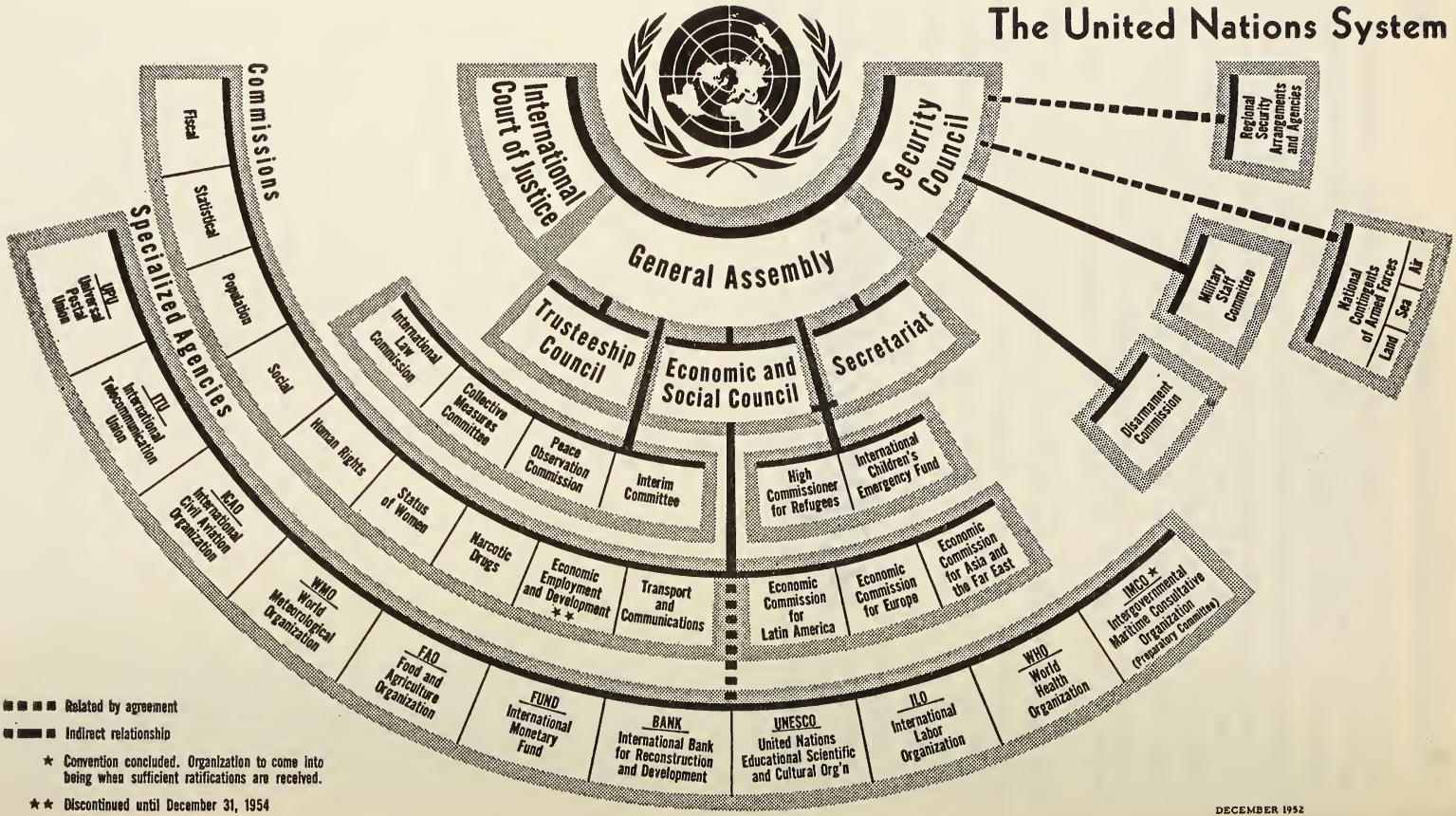
The Council requested its functional and regional commissions to appraise their programs in the light of these priorities and so far as feasible to give special emphasis to projects likely to contribute directly to their fulfillment. It also invited the specialized agencies to keep these priorities in mind when reviewing and formulating their programs, and to offer comments to the Council for any modifications.

Complementing the establishing of overall economic and social priority programs was the work done by the Economic and Social Council in furthering the development of a concerted international program of practical action in the social field, to which reference has been made above.

There was appreciable progress in the area of administrative and budgetary coordination. The General Assembly considered the problem of the establishment of a conference schedule that would utilize most efficiently the conference facilities available at headquarters and in Geneva, and asked the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to make recommendations on the matter. The Secretary-General reported continued improvement in the coordination of common services of the United Nations and the specialized agencies at various centers throughout the world where several agencies have offices.

appendixes

The United Nations System



DECEMBER 1952

Contributions to Korea Activities

SUMMARIES OF MILITARY AND RELIEF ASSISTANCE FOR KOREA AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1952

Country	Date	Details of offer	Status
GROUND FORCES			
Australia	Aug. 3, 1950	Ground forces from Australian infantry force in Japan.	In action.
		Additional battalion of Australian troops.	Do.
Belgium	Sept. 13, 1950	Infantry battalion.	Do.
	May 3, 1951	Reinforcements	Do.
Bolivia	July 15, 1950	30 officers	Acceptance deferred.
Canada	Aug. 14, 1950.	Brigade group, including 3 infantry battalions, 1 field regiment of artillery, 1 squadron of self-propelled antitank guns, together with engineer, signal, medical, ordnance, and other services with appropriate reinforcements.	In action.

Summaries of Military and Relief Assistance for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date	Details of offer	Status
China	July 3, 1950	3 infantry divisions	Acceptance deferred.
Colombia	Nov. 14, 1950	1 infantry battalion	In action.
Costa Rica	July 27, 1950	Volunteers	Acceptance deferred.
Cuba	Nov. 30, 1950	1 infantry company	Accepted.
El Salvador	Aug. 15, 1950.	Volunteers	Acceptance deferred.
Ethiopia	Nov. 2, 1950	1,069 officers and men	In action.
France	Aug. 20, 1950	Infantry battalion	Do.
Greece	Sept. 1, 1950	Unit of land forces	Do.
	July 2, 1951	Additional unit of land forces	Transmitted to Unified Command.
Luxembourg	Mar. 15, 1951	Infantry company integrated into the Belgian forces	In action.
Netherlands	Sept. 8, 1950	1 infantry battalion	Do.
New Zealand	July 26, 1950	1 combat unit	Do.
Panama	Aug. 3, 1950	Contingent of volunteers and bases for training	Acceptance deferred.
Philippines	Aug. 10, 1950	Regimental combat team consisting of approximately 5,000 officers and men.	In action.
Thailand	July 23, 1950	Infantry combat team of about 4,000 officers and men.	Do.
Turkey	July 25, 1950	Infantry combat force of 4,500 men, later increased to 6,086 men.	Do.
United Kingdom	Aug. 21, 1950	Ground forces	Do.
	Official information communicated on June 12, 1951.	2 brigades composed of brigade headquarters, 5 infantry battalions, 1 field regiment, 1 armored regiment.	Do.
United States	Official information communicated on June 8, 1951.	3 army corps and 1 marine division with supporting elements.	Do.

NAVAL FORCES			
Australia	Sept. 4, 1952	1 destroyer and 1 frigate	Do.
Canada	July 12, 1950	3 destroyers	Do.
Colombia	Oct. 16, 1950	1 frigate, *Almirante Padilla* (replaced by *Capitan Tono*).	Do.
France	July 19, 1950	Patrol gunboat	Withdrawn.
Netherlands	July 5, 1950	1 destroyer, *Evertsen*	In action.
New Zealand	July 1, 1950	2 frigates, H.M.N.Z. *Tutira* and H.M.N.Z. *Pukaki*	Do.
Thailand	Oct. 3, 1950	2 corvettes, *Prasae* and *Bangpakong* [1]	Do.
United Kingdom	June 28, 1950	Naval forces in Japanese waters diverted to Korea	Do.
	Official information communicated on June 12, 1951, and Sept. 12, 1952.	1 aircraft carrier, 1 aircraft carrier maintenance ship, 1 hospital ship, 4 frigates, 1 headquarters ship, 2 cruisers, 4 destroyers.	Do.
United States	Official information communicated on June 8, 1951.	A fast carrier task group with a blockade and escort force, an amphibious force, reconnaissance and antisubmarine warfare units, supporting ships.	Do.
AIR FORCES			
Australia	June 30, 1950	1 R.A.A.F. fighter squadron, 1 air communication unit, base and maintenance personnel.	Do.
Canada	July 21, 1950	1 R.C.A.F. squadron	Do.
Union of South Africa	Aug. 4, 1950	1 fighter squadron, including ground personnel	Do.
United Kingdom	Official information communicated on June 12, 1951.	Elements of the air force	Do.
United States	Official information communicated on June 8, 1951.	1 tactical air force, 1 bombardment command, 1 combat cargo command, all with supporting elements.	Do.
MATERIAL			
Philippines	Aug. 3, 1950	17 Sherman tanks and 1 tank destroyer	Do.

[1] Destroyed on grounding.

Summaries of Military and Relief Assistance for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date	Details of offer	Status
TRANSPORT			
Belgium	Sept. 28, 1950	Air transport	Available.
Canada	Aug. 11, 1950	Facilities of Canadian Pacific Airlines between Vancouver and Tokyo.	Do.
		Dry cargo vessels (10,000 tons)	Do.
China	July 3, 1950	20 C–47's	Acceptance deferred.
Denmark	July 22, 1950	Motor ship *Bella Dan*	Do.
Greece	July 20, 1950, and Oct. 13, 1950.	8 Dakota transport planes	In action.
Norway	July 18, 1950	Merchant ship tonnage	Do.
Panama	Aug. 3, 1950	Use of merchant marine for transportation of troops and supplies.	Do.
Thailand	Oct. 3, 1950	Transport *Sichang* to be attached to Thai troops	Do.
		Air transport	Do.
United Kingdom	Official information communicated on June 12, 1951.	7 supply vessels	Do.
United States		(The Unified Command has arranged for transport of United States troops and material, as well as for the transport of some of the forces and material listed in the present summary.)	
MEDICAL			
Denmark	Aug. 18, 1950	Hospital ship *Jutlandia*	Do.
India	July 29, 1950	Field ambulance unit	Do.

Italy	Sept. 27, 1950	Field hospital unit	Do.
Norway	Mar. 6, 1951	Surgical hospital unit	Do.
Sweden	July 20, 1950	Field hospital unit	Do.
United Kingdom	Official information communicated on June 12, 1951.	Hospital ship	Do.
United States		(The Unified Command has provided full medical facilities not only for United States troops but also for the troops of participating governments.)	
MISCELLANEOUS			
Costa Rica	July 27, 1950	Sea and air bases	Accepted.
Panama	Aug. 3, 1950	Bases for training	Acceptance deferred.
		Free use of highways	Accepted.
		Farmlands to supply troops	Pending.
Thailand	Feb. 2, 1951	Treatment for frostbite	Do.

UNIFIED COMMAND EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAM FOR KOREA AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1952

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value (U. S. dollar equiv.)	Status
MEMBER AND NONMEMBER STATES				
(1) *Offers made direct to Emergency Program*				
Australia	Nov. 28, 1950	Penicillin crystalline	67, 344	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Dec. 14, 1950	Distilled water	31, 836	Do.
		Laundry soap, 116,000 lb	8, 029	Do.
	Jan. 8, 1951	Procaine penicillin	108, 547	Do.
	Jan. 31, 1951	Barley, 2,000 long tons	196, 570	Do.
Belgium	Nov. 7, 1950	Sugar, 400 metric tons	60, 000	Do.
Brazil	Sept. 22, 1950	Cruzeiros, 50 million	2, 702, 703	Pending legislation.
Cambodia	May 11, 1951	Salted fish, 1,400 kg	389	Arrived in Korean theater.
	June 14, 1951	Rice, 5.2 metric tons	583	Do.
	Feb. 25, 1952	Rice, 100 sacks	1, 457	Do.
	Nov. 28, 1952	Rice, dried fish, timber	(1)	Action pending.
China	Oct. 4, 1950	Coal, 9,900 metric tons; rice, 1,000 metric tons; salt, 3,000 metric tons; DDT, 20 metric tons.	613, 630	Arrived in Korean theater.
	July 17, 1951	Medical supplies	21, 152	Do.
Cuba	Oct. 2, 1950	Sugar, 2,000 metric tons; alcohol, 10,000 gal.	270, 962	Do.
Denmark	July 5, 1950	Medical supplies	142, 964	Do.
	Sept. 26, 1950	Sugar, 500 metric tons	95, 047	Do.
Ecuador	Oct. 13, 1950	Rice, 500 metric tons	99, 441	Do.

France	Oct. 9, 1950	Medical supplies	74, 286	Do.
	Dec. 29, 1950	. . . do		Do.
Germany, Federal Republic of.	Dec. 5, 1952	Medical supplies	47, 619	Accepted by Unified Command.
Greece	Oct. 20, 1950	Soap, 113 metric tons	31, 167	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Nov. 30, 1950	Notebooks and pencils, 25,000 each	1, 333	Do.
	Dec. 27, 1950	Medical supplies	84, 586	Do.
	Apr. 15, 1952	Salt, 10,000 tons	36, 133	Under shipment.
Iceland	Sept. 14, 1950	Cod liver oil, 125 metric tons	45, 400	Arrived in Korean theater.
India	Oct. 4, 1950	Jute bags, 400,000	167, 696	Do.
	Oct. 11, 1950	Medical supplies	3, 384	Do.
Israel	Aug. 22, 1950	Medical supplies	63, 000	Do.
Liberia	July 17, 1950	Natural rubber	10, 000	Do.
Mexico	Sept. 30, 1950	Pulses and rice; medical supplies	346, 821	Do.
New Zealand	Oct. 6, 1950	Dried peas, 492 long tons	55, 318	Do.
	Nov. 20, 1950	Milk powder, 150 metric tons	[2] 66, 378	Do.
		Soap, 200 metric tons	[2] 49, 644	Do.
	Mar. 14, 1951	Vitamin capsules	[2] 38, 532	Do.
	May 26, 1952	Soap and vitamin capsules	69, 725	Under shipment.
Nicaragua	Nov. 16, 1950	Rice, 1,000 quintals		Declined unless can be made available at U.S. port.
	Dec. 16, 1950	Rice, 2,000 quintals	. . . . .	
		Alcohol, 5,000 qt		
Norway	Feb. 13, 1951	Soap, 120,250 lb.	21, 091	Arrived in Korean theater.
		Vitamins, 24,850 bottles	10, 210	Do.
		Ether	[2] 39, 699	Do.
Pakistan	Aug. 29, 1950	Wheat, 5,000 metric tons	378, 285	Do.
Peru	Nov. 21, 1950	Clothing: cotton and wool; and cloth	58, 723	Under shipment.
Philippines	July 7, 1950	Soap, 50,000 cakes	5, 500	Do.
	Sept. 7, 1950	Vaccine	50, 050	Arrived in Korean theater.

[1] No estimate available.
[2] Tentative value only.

Unified Command Emergency Relief Program for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value (U. S. dollar equiv.)	Status
MEMBER AND NONMEMBER STATES—continued				
(1) *Offers made direct to Emergency Program*—continued				
Philippines	Sept. 8, 1950	Rice, 10,000 metric tons	2, 255, 628	8,285 tons arrived in Korean theater, balance awaiting shipment. Tentative value only.
	Sept. 8, 1950	Fresh blood, 518 units	19, 475	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Nov. 29, 1950	Fresh blood, 500 units	.....	Declined owing to technical difficulties.
Sweden	May 14, 1952	Medical supplies	48, 326	Arrived in Korean theater.
Thailand	Sept. 20, 1950	Rice, 40,000 metric tons	4, 368, 000	Do.
Turkey	Aug. 29, 1950	Vaccines and serums	.....	Declined owing to difficulties of transportation.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.	Oct. 19, 1950	Salt, 6,000 long tons	139, 150	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Oct. 20, 1950	Sulfa drugs	48, 791	Do.
	Dec. 22, 1950	Food yeast, 50 long tons	25, 167	Do.
	June 19, 1951	Supplies to the value of £400,000 including:	1, 120, 000	(Supplies to be made available at request of Unified Command.)
		Charcoal, 24,000 piculs	.....	Under shipment.
		Salt, 8,200 long tons	.....	Arrived in Korean theater.
		Food yeast, 75 tons	.....	Under shipments.
		Cotton sheeting	.....	Accepted by Unified Command.
United States of America.	.....	Total contribution to emergency relief from June 25, 1950, to Dec. 31, 1952.	321, 688, 005	This total includes $313,964,320 for goods supplied or in process

				of supply from U.S. Army, including transportation costs; U.S. borne transportation for U.N. and other donations, $2,198,839; ECA relief assistance (exclusive of approximately $32,000,000 nonrelief ECA economic assistance), $5,524,846.
Uruguay	Sept. 14, 1950	$2,000,000 U.S.	2, 000, 000	Pending legislation.
	Oct. 28, 1950	Blankets, 70,000	250, 780	Arrived in Korean theater.
Venezuela	Sept. 14, 1950	Medical supplies and foodstuffs	80, 842	Do.
	Apr. 1, 1951	Clothing and food	70, 000	Do.
Viet-Nam	Dec. 9, 1952	Rice, 10 tons	.....	Acceptance pending.

(2) *Offers made to the Negotiating Committee on Contributions to Programs of Relief and Rehabilitation but made available by UNKRA to the Emergency Program*

Argentina	Aug. 8, 1951	Corned meats, 13,950 cases	500, 000	Arrived in Korean theater.
Burma	Feb. 1, 1951	Rice, 400 metric tons	49, 934	Do.
Chile	Nov. 17, 1951	Nitrates, 5,000 tons	250, 000	Pending legislation in Chile.
Israel	Feb. 19, 1951	Citrus products	33, 600	Arrived in Korean theater.
Liberia	Feb. 23, 1951	Natural rubber	15, 000	Do.

(3) *Cash contributions offered to the Emergency Program but credited to UNKRA*

Ethiopia	Aug. 5, 1950	£14,286 sterling	40, 000	Do.
Lebanon	July 26, 1950	$50,000 U.S.	50, 000	Do.
Paraguay	Nov. 3, 1950	$10,000 U.S.	10, 000	Do.

Unified Command Emergency Relief Program for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value (U. S. dollar equiv.)	Status
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (BY COUNTRY)				
Australia				
Save the Children Fund.	June 25, 1951	Services of 3 medical and welfare personnel.	. . . . .	1 doctor now working in Korea with UNCACK.
Canada				
Canadian Lutheran World Relief.	Nov. 28, 1952	Used clothing, 1 ton	2,000	Accepted.
Unitarian Service Committee of Canada.	Dec. 31, 1952	Clothing, 2 tons	4,000	Do.
United Church of Canada.	Apr. 19, 1951	Used clothing and shoes, 24,000 lb. . .	24,000	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Nov. 14, 1951	Used clothing, 30,000 lb.	30,000	Do.
	Feb. 4, 1952	Used clothing, 30,000 lb.	30,000	Do.
	May 7, 1952	Used clothing, 40,000 lb.	40,000	Do.
	July 21, 1952	Used clothing, 40,000 lb.	40,000	Under shipment.
	Oct. 30, 1952	Used clothing, 20 tons	40,000	Do.
	Dec. 31, 1952	Used clothing, 20 tons	40,000	Acceptance pending.
Colombia				
Commercial firms. .	Mar. 3, 1951	Clothing—amount not specified . . .	. . . . .	Declined unless made available in United States port.
	Mar. 19, 1951	Clothing—amount not specified . . .	500	
Japan				
Japan Canned and Bottled Foods Association.	Apr. 27, 1951	Preserved foods, 300 cases	3,000	Arrived in Korean theater.

Japanese Catholic Organization AI RIN KAI.	June 17, 1952	Textiles and miscellaneous supplies . .	5, 400	Do.
New Zealand				
Council of Organizations for Relief Services Overseas.	Nov. 21, 1950	Used clothing, 71 cases.	11, 377	Do.
	Mar. 16, 1951	Used clothing, 48 cases.	19, 392	Do.
	Oct. 15, 1951	Used footwear and clothing, 104 cases .	44, 069	Do.
	Apr. 23, 1952	Used clothing, 15 cases.	12, 029	Do.
	Apr. 23, 1952	Clothing and footwear, 9 cases, 10 bales.	14, 052	Do.
	May 16, 1952	Medical books, 12 cases	1, 349	Accepted by UNKRA for medical library.
	Aug. 25, 1952	Medical books	(1)	Do.
	Oct. 17, 1952	Used clothing and footwear, 33 cubic tons.	(1)	Accepted.
	Dec. 5, 1952	Dental supplies.	(1)	Do.
Norway				
Europahjelpen . . .	Dec. 29, 1950	Clothing, 126 metric tons	277, 780	Arrived in Korean theater.
United Kingdom				
YWCA, Hong Kong.	Mar. 29, 1951	Clothing and cloth, 1,200 lb.	1, 200	Do.
United States of America.				
American Friends Service Committee.	Nov. 16, 1950	Used clothing, 103,000 lb.	104, 000	Do.
		Soap, 5,000 lb.		
	Jan. 23, 1951	Used clothing, 10 metric tons	20, 000	Do.
	Feb. 14, 1951	Used clothing, 11,000 lb.	10, 000	Do.
	Mar. 12, 1951	Used clothing, 7,500 lb.	7, 500	Do.
	May 28, 1951	Used clothing, 24,233 lb.	24, 233	Do.
	July 12, 1951	Used clothing, 67,500 lb.	67, 500	Do.
	Aug. 28, 1951	Used clothing, 32,500 lb.	32, 500	Do.
	Sept. 11, 1951	Used clothing, 60,860 lb.	60, 860	Do.
		Soap, 3,700 lb.	370	Do.

[1] No estimate available.

Unified Command Emergency Relief Program for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value (U. S. dollar equiv.)	Status
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (BY COUNTRY)—continued				
United States of America—continued				Arrived in Korean theater.
American Relief for Korea.	June 13, 1951	Used clothing and shoes, 500,000 lb. . .	480, 000	Do.
	Oct. 24, 1951	Used clothing and shoes, 3,868,403 lb. .	3, 869, 650	Do.
		Hospital supplies, 1,135 lb.		
		Powdered milk, 400 lb.		
	Mar. 3, 1952	Used clothing and shoes, 1,500,000 lb. .	1, 225, 000	Part arrived Korea, balance under shipment.
	Mar. 13, 1952	Rice, 20,000 lb	2, 000	Arrived in Korean theater.
	May 21, 1952	Canned goods, 150 lb	30	Do.
		Children's supplies, 315 lb	315	Do.
		Physician's samples, 177 lb. (no commercial value).	. . . . .	Do.
	Aug. 18, 1952	Used clothing and shoes, 1,500,000 lb .	1, 225, 000	Under shipment.
		Laundry and toilet soap, 12,000 lb . .	2, 160	Do.
	Nov. 18, 1952	Toilet and laundry soap, 25,000 lb . .	4, 500	Do.
	Nov. 20, 1952	Used clothing and shoes, 1,500,000 lb .	1, 500, 000	Do.
Church World Service.	Sept. 25, 1950	Used clothing and miscellaneous supplies.	104, 958	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Nov. 6, 1950	Vitamin tablets, 1,000,000	5, 500	Do.
		Used clothing, 100,000 lb	100, 000	Do.
	Jan. 30, 1951	Used clothing, 60,000 lb	60, 000	Do.
	Feb. 19, 1951	Used clothing, 12,000 lb	12, 000	Do.
	Feb. 21, 1951	Used clothing, 40,000 lb	40, 000	Do.

	Apr. 2, 1951	Used clothing, 10,000 lb	10,000	Do.
	May 18, 1951	Used clothing, 50,000 lb	50,000	Do.
	Mar. 28, 1952	Hospital supplies (includes 1,000,000 vitamin tablets), 6,720 lb.	33,600	Do.
		Used clothing, 268,567 lb	268,567	Do.
		Food, 54,248 lb	14,595	Do.
		Soap, 2,433 lb	243	Do.
Committee for Free Asia.	Aug. 8, 1951	Newsprint, 1,000 tons	150,000	Do.
Cooperative Agencies for Remittances to Europe, Inc. (CARE).	Sept. 21, 1950	Food and clothing pkg	100,000	Do.
	Nov. 20, 1950	Blankets and textile pkg	154,294	Do.
	Apr. 10, 1951	Food pkg	100,000	Do.
	June 19, 1951	Food pkg	100,000	Do.
		Blanket pkg	28,000	Do.
	July 25, 1951	Food pkg	110,000	Do.
	Aug. 13, 1951	Dress material, soap, food	1,565	Do.
	Aug. 22, 1951	Food pkg	100,000	Do.
	Oct. 19, 1951	Knitting wool pkg	25,000	Do.
	Dec. 3, 1951	Clothing and blanket pkg	85,000	Do.
		Food pkg	100,000	Do.
	Jan. 9, 1952	Soap pkg	38,800	Do.
	Jan. 21, 1952	Blankets and underwear	80,000	Do.
	Feb. 21, 1952	Food pkg	100,000	Do.
	Mar. 10, 1952	Food pkg	230,000	Part delivered Korea, balance under shipment.
	Mar. 21, 1952	Cotton pkg	17,500	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Apr. 25, 1952	Food pkg	140,000	Under shipment.
	May 23, 1952	Knitting pkg	25,000	Part arrived in Korea.
	July 14, 1952	Food pkg	100,000	Under shipment.
	July 31, 1952	Cloth, 13,595 lb	10,000	Do.
	Aug. 19, 1952	Food pkgs., 14,870 lb	74,350	Do.

Unified Command Emergency Relief Program for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value (U. S. dollar equiv.)	Status
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (BY COUNTRY)—continued				
United States of America—Con.				
Cooperative Agencies for Remittances to Europe, Inc. (CARE).	Oct. 24, 1952	Special cotton-wool blankets, 2, 500 . .	17, 500	Under shipmennt.
		Special underwear pkg., 2,500	25, 000	Do.
	Oct. 24, 1952	Cloth remnants	500	Do.
	Nov. 4, 1952	Cotton pkg., 200	20, 000	Do.
	Nov. 18, 1952	Special knitting wool, 2,030 pkg	20, 300	Do.
	Nov. 21, 1952	Underwear, 1,500 pkg.	15, 000	Do.
		Food, 5,000 pkg.	50, 000	Do.
	Oct. 10, 1952	Vitamin compound and vitamin B complex, 350 cartons.	9, 500	Do.
Friendship Among Children and Youth Around the World, Inc.	Feb. 26, 1952	Relief parcels, clothing, shoes	8, 700	Do.
	Dec. 9, 1952	Miscellaneous items of children's clothing, 78 crates.	12, 000	Do.
General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists.	Apr. 11, 1951	Used clothing, 19,000 lb	10, 000	Arrived in Korean theater.
Heifer Project Committee.	Mar. 6, 1952	Hatching eggs 250,000	17, 500	Do.
	June 19, 1952	Goats, 100; pigs, 300.	25, 000	(Offers originally made to UNKRA which in turn offered this donation to Unified Command.

Lutheran World Relief.	Feb. 23, 1951	Used clothing, 44,500 lb	44, 550	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Mar. 26, 1951	Used clothing and soap, 12,851 lb.	12, 851	Do.
	Apr. 26, 1951	Used clothing, 200 bales	25, 287	Do.
	July 18, 1951	Used clothing, 290 bales	29, 000	Do.
	Apr. 15, 1952	Used clothing and bedding, 21,750 lb.	21, 750	Do.
	May 1, 1952	Used clothing, 60,000 lb.	60, 000	Do.
	June 19, 1952	Used clothing and bedding	14, 031	Do.
Manget Foundation.	Sept. 26, 1951	Used clothing, 101 bales	9, 000	Do.
Mennonite Central Committee.	Oct. 1951	Services of 1 supply officer	....	Services made available for 1 year from October 1951.
Oriental Missionary Society.	Feb. 19, 1951	Used clothing, 102,883 lb.	102, 883	Arrived in Korean theater.
Presbyterian Church in the United States.	Sept. 10, 1951	Medical supplies	950	Do.
Save the Children Federation.	Dec. 12, 1950	Used clothing, 4,913 lb.	5, 033	Do.
	Feb. 16, 1951	Used clothing, 10,011 lb.	10, 087	Do.
	Apr. 23, 1951	Used clothing, 13,512 lb.	13, 610	Do.
	July 9, 1951	Used clothing, 15,700 lb.	15, 395	Do.
	July 20, 1951	School equipment	1, 200	Do.
	Oct. 10, 1951	Used clothing, 15,136 lb.	15, 115	Do.
	Oct. 10, 1951	School equipment and gift pkg.	7, 500	Do.
	Oct. 22, 1951	Used clothing, 4,826 lb.	4, 826	Do.
	Dec. 10, 1951	Used clothing, 9,867 lb.	9, 867	Do.
	Jan. 21, 1952	Gift pkg. and tents	2, 900	Do.
	Apr. 28, 1952	School equipment	5, 000	Do.
	Apr. 28, 1952	Used clothing, 10,257 lb.	10, 326	Do.
	July 9, 1952	Tents and poles	360	Under shipment.
	Aug. 4, 1952	Layettes	900	Do.

Unified Command Emergency Relief Program for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value (U. S. dollar equiv.)	Status
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (BY COUNTRY)—continued				
United States of America—Con.				
War Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conference.	Oct. 17, 1950	Used clothing, soap, medicinal supplies.	290, 749	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Oct. 27, 1950	Services of medical team	. . . . .	Declined.
	Nov. 17, 1950	Clothing, shoes, soap	99, 739	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Nov. 29, 1950	Used clothing, 1,000,000 lb.	1, 000, 000	Do.
	Dec. 7, 1950	Used clothing, 1,000,000 lb.	1, 000, 000	Do.
	Dec. 7, 1950	Used clothing, 70,000 lb.	70, 000	Do.
	Feb. 16, 1951	Medicinals	2, 600	Do.
		Used clothing, 20,000 lb.	20, 000	Do.
	Mar. 26, 1951	Dried milk, 1,000,000 lb.	125, 000	Do.
		Dried eggs, 100,000 lb	40, 000	Do.
	Aug. 30, 1951	Used clothing, 10,000 lb.	10, 000	Do.
	Oct. 22, 1951	Used clothing, 950,000 lb.	950, 000	Do.
	Dec. 6, 1951	Used clothing, 400,000 lb.	400, 000	Do.
	Dec. 27, 1951	Used clothing, 115,000 lb.	115, 000	Under shipment.
	Feb. 15, 1952	Used clothing, 12,000 lb.	12, 000	Part delivered Korean theater; balance under shipment.
	Mar. 12, 1952	Baby foods, 31,844 lb.	8, 250	Under shipment.
Miscellaneous United States Sources.				
Anonymous donors .	. . . . .	Used clothing, 130,802 lb.	130, 802	Arrived in Korean theater.
		Chaplain's supplies	3, 360	Do.
		Canned milk and food	250	Do.
		Law books: 1 set	600	Do.

Mrs. J. M. Lee, Chicago.	. . . . .	Used clothing, 1,120 lb.	1, 120	Do.
Korean Consul General, San Francisco.	. . . . .	Used clothing, 756 lb.	750	Do.
School Children of San Francisco.	. . . . .	Rice, 800 lb	80	Do.
U.S. Naval Hospital, Bethesda.	. . . . .	Medical books, 2 cases	500	Do.
U.S. Third Army .	. . . . .	Baby clothes and used clothing	10, 857	Do.
U.S.A.F. 19th Bombardment Wing.	. . . . .	Used clothing, 200 lb	120	Do.
Special Service Officer, U.S. Army in Pacific.	. . . . .	Used clothing, 16 boxes	1, 120	Do.
Sharp and Dohme, Philadelphia.	. . . . .	"Captivite," 600 bottles	1, 000	Do.
Cash donations .	. . . . .	. . . . .	1, 903	
U.S. Army Chapels in Alaska.	Oct. 24, 1952	Cash for food	1, 271. 30	Accepted.
Dr. William B. Neal.	Dec. 18, 1952	Medical library, 500–700 books . . .	2, 500	Do.
Religious Denominations of Ft. Devens, Mass.	Oct. 17, 1952	Cash donation	1, 000	Do.
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES				
ILO	Nov. 29, 1950	Services of 2 labor advisers	. . . . .	Services made available by ILO until Jan. 1, 1952.

Unified Command Emergency Relief Program for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value (U. S. dollar equiv.)	Status
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (BY COUNTRY)—continued				
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES—continued				
IRO	Aug. 3, 1950	Clothing, cloth, thread, kitchen equipment, sewing machines.	179,000	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Aug. 8, 1950	Medical supplies, 2 M tons	12,177	Do.
	Aug. 19, 1950	Services of 5 medical team personnel Services of 4 medical team personnel Services of 5 supply officers		Services made available by IRO until Jan. 1, 1952.
UNESCO	Jan. 31, 1951	$100,000 for purchase of educational supplies.	100,000	Made available to Unified Command.
UNICEF	Sept. 27, 1950	Blankets, 312,020	535,006	Arrived in Korean theater.
		Powdered milk, 330,000 lb	10,054	Do.
	Sept. 28, 1950	Soap, 100,000 lb	7,167	Do.
		Medical supplies	1,964	Do.
	Jan. 26, 1951	Clothing	200,000	Do.
	Feb. 1, 1951	Clothing	199,586	Do.
		Freight charges on cod liver oil donated by Iceland.	3,729	Do.
	July 24, 1951	Cotton cloth, 2,400,000 yd	540,000	Do.
WHO	Aug. 8, 1950	Services of 10 medical team personnel		Services made available by WHO until Jan. 1, 1952.
	Sept. 4, 1950 Nov. 22, 1950	Services of 3 public health advisers Services of 10 medical team personnel		Services made available by WHO until Jan. 1, 1952.

LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES

League of Red Cross Societies, Geneva.	Nov. 11, 1950	Services of 9 medical teams each of 3 persons.	. . . . .	5 teams made available by Red Cross until Jan. 1, 1952.
		Tents, blankets, medical supplies, clothing.	. . . . .	Supplied direct to the Korean Red Cross.
	May 7, 1952	Reconditioned clothing, knitting wool .	2, 016	Arrived in Korean theater.
American Junior Red Cross.	June 8, 1951	Educational gift boxes	100, 000	Do.
	July 27, 1951	School chests	7, 600	Do.
	Aug. 2, 1951	Children's clothing	150, 000	Do.
	Sept. 5, 1951	Educational gift boxes	100, 000	Do.
	May 7, 1952	Duplicating machines	2, 700	Do.
	July 1, 1952	School chests and educational gift boxes .	210, 000	Under shipment.
American Red Cross Society.	Aug. 2, 1951	Layettes and blankets	46, 000	Arrived in Korean theater.
Australian Red Cross Society.	July 31, 1951	Medical supplies	970	Do.
	Aug. 2, 1951	Used clothing	6, 100	Do.
	Mar. 11, 1952	. . do	2, 000	Do.
	May 7, 1952	. . do	6, 720	Do.
	May 7, 1952	. . do	2, 000	Do.
	Oct. 17, 1952	Reconditioned clothing, 95 cases, 4 tons gross.	. . . . .	Accepted.
British Red Cross Society.	July 31, 1951	Woolen clothing	8, 400	Arrived in Korean theater.
Canadian Red Cross Society.	May 7, 1952	Knitting wool	2, 240	Do.
Costa Rican Red Cross Society.	Mar. 3, 1951	Used clothing	1, 761	Do.
Greek Red Cross Society.	June 13, 1951	Dried fruits	686	Do.

Unified Command Emergency Relief Program for Korea as of December 31, 1952—Continued

Country	Date of offer	Details of offer	Value (U. S. dollar equiv.)	Status
LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES—continued				
Indian Red Cross Society.	June 13, 1951	Mepacrine tablets	6, 090	Arrived in Korean theater.
	Aug. 15, 1951	Medical supplies	2, 100	Do.
Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society.	July 31, 1951	Blankets and clothing	3, 900	Do.
Japan Red Cross Society.	June 19, 1951	Medical supplies, clothing and food	36, 000	Do.
	Jan. 22, 1952	Medical supplies	25, 000	Do.
New Zealand Red Cross Society.	May 7, 1952	Knitting wool and needles	194	Do.
Norwegian Red Cross Society.	July 31, 1951	Hospital supplies	5, 640	Do.
Swedish Red Cross Society.	Aug. 2, 1951	Used clothing	90, 000	Do.
	Feb. 28, 1952	do	82, 512	Do.
Turkish Red Crescent.	Jan. 10, 1951	Knitting wool and needles	898	Do.

APPENDIX II

THE UNITED NATIONS EXPANDED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

(*Calendar Year 1952*)

Contributions Pledged and Received as of February 19, 1953

Country	Local currency		Dollar equivalent	Contributions received (dollar equivalent)
	Currency	Amount pledged		
Afghanistan	Afghanis	119, 084	$7, 001	. . . . .
Argentina	Pesos	1, 000, 000	200, 000	$200, 000
Australia	Equivalent of	. . . . .	190, 000	190, 000
Austria	Schillings	500, 000	19, 231	9, 616
Belgium	Belgian francs	13, 500, 000	270, 000	270, 000
Bolivia	Bolivianos	750, 000	12, 500	. . . . .
Brazil	Cruzeiros	8, 500, 000	459, 459	. . . . .
Burma	Equivalent of	. . . . .	8, 000	8, 000
Cambodia	Equivalent of	. . . . .	5, 000	5, 000
Canada	Canadian dollars	750, 000	750, 000	750, 000
Ceylon	Equivalent in pounds sterling of.	. . . . .	15, 000	15, 000
Chile	Pesos	5, 400, 000	174, 194	174, 194
China	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	10, 000	10, 000
Colombia	Equivalent of	. . . . .	100, 000	100, 000
Costa Rica	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	5, 000	5, 000
Cuba	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	50, 000	. . . .
Denmark	Danish kroners	750, 000	108, 585	108, 585
Dominican Republic	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	6, 000	6, 000
Ecuador	Sucres	94, 500	6, 300	. . . .
Egypt	Egyptian pounds	28, 500	81, 850	81, 850
El Salvador	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	5, 000	5, 000
Ethiopia	Equivalent of	. . . . .	20, 000	. . . .
Federal Republic of Germany.	Deutschemarks	500, 000	119, 048	71, 000
Finland	Finnish marks	2, 310, 000	10, 000	10, 000
France	French francs	372, 625, 000	1, 064, 643	1, 064, 643
Greece	Equivalent in drachmas of.	. . . . .	20, 295	20, 295
Guatemala	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	7, 500	. . . .
Haiti	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	12, 000	12, 000
Honduras	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	8, 000	8, 000
Iceland	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	2, 500	2, 500
India	Equivalent in rupees of.	. . . . .	275, 000	275, 000
Indonesia	Rupiah	500, 000	43, 860	43, 860
Iran	Equivalent in rial of	. . . . .	40, 000	40, 000

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Contributions Pledged and Received as of February 19, 1953—Continued

Country	Local currency		Dollar equivalent	Contributions received (dollar equivalent)
	Currency	Amount pledged		
Iraq	Equivalent of	. . . . .	$5, 000	$5, 000
Ireland	Pounds sterling	5, 000	14, 002	14, 002
Israel	Israeli pounds	10, 000	28, 003	28, 003
Italy	Equivalent in lira of	. . . . .	93, 000	. . . .
Japan	Yen	28, 800, 000	80, 000	80, 000
Korea	Equivalent of	. . . . .	5, 000	. . . .
Laos	Equivalent in piasters of.	. . . . .	5, 000	. . . .
Lebanon	Lebanese pounds	15, 000	6, 846	. . . .
Liberia	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	12, 000	12, 000
Luxembourg	Equivalent in Belgian francs.	. . . . .	2, 500	2, 500
Mexico	Pesos	300, 000	34, 682	34, 682
Monaco	French francs	1, 000, 000	2, 857	2, 857
Netherlands	Guilders	1, 520, 000	400, 000	400, 000
New Zealand	New Zealand pounds	45, 000	124, 138	. . . . .
Nicaragua	. . . . .	. . . . .	5, 000	. . . . .
Norway	Norwegian kroners	400, 000	55, 999	55, 999
Pakistan	Pakistani rupees	500, 000	151, 103	151, 103
Panama	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	3, 000	. . . . .
Paraguay	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	5, 000	. . . . .
Philippines	Philippine pesos	100, 000	50, 000	25, 000
Saudi Arabia	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	15, 000	15, 000
Sweden	Swedish kroners	1, 848, 500	357, 336	357, 336
Switzerland	Swiss francs	947, 672	218, 862	218, 862
Syria	Syrian pounds	25, 000	11, 410	. . . . .
Thailand	Baht	425, 000	34, 000	34, 000
Turkey	Equivalent of	. . . . .	182, 000	182, 000
United Kingdom	Pounds sterling	450, 000	1, 260, 151	1, 260, 151
United States	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	11, 400, 000	10, 750, 000
Uruguay	U.S. dollars	. . . . .	50, 000	. . . . .
Venezuela	Equivalent of	. . . . .	20, 000	. . . . .
Viet-Nam	Equivalent of	. . . . .	7, 500	7, 500
Yugoslavia	Dinars	15, 000, 000	50, 000	50, 000
Total	. . . . .	. . . . .	18, 795, 355	17, 171, 538

APPENDIX III

The United Nations System

THE UNITED NATIONS

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 60 members are represented. These are listed below.

Afghanistan	Ethiopia	Pakistan
Argentina	France	Panama
Australia	Greece	Paraguay
Belgium	Guatemala	Peru
Bolivia	Haiti	Philippines
Brazil	Honduras	Poland
Burma	Iceland	Saudi Arabia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	India	Sweden
Canada	Indonesia	Syria
Chile	Iran	Thailand
China	Iraq	Turkey
Colombia	Israel	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Union of South Africa
Cuba	Liberia	U.S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
Denmark	Mexico	United States
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Uruguay
Ecuador	New Zealand	Venezuela
Egypt	Nicaragua	Yemen
El Salvador	Norway	Yugoslavia

The first part of the seventh regular session of the General Assembly met from October 14, 1952, to December 22, 1952, in New York.

The Assembly elected Lester B. Pearson (Canada) president and the chief delegates of China, Egypt, France, Honduras, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the United States as its seven vice presidents. The chairmen of the six main committees were, respectively, João Carlos Muniz (Brazil), Political and Security; Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia), Economic and Financial; S. Amjad Ali (Pakistan),

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS COMMITTEES

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
MEETS ANNUALLY (AND IN SPECIAL SESSION AT REQUEST OF SECURITY COUNCIL OR OF MAJORITY OF MEMBERS)
EACH MEMBER HAS 1 VOTE
ELECTS PRESIDENT, 7 VICE PRESIDENTS

MAIN COMMITTEES (ALL MEMBERS)

- FIRST COMMITTEE — POLITICAL AND SECURITY
- SECOND COMMITTEE — ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL
- THIRD COMMITTEE — SOCIAL HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL
- FOURTH COMMITTEE — TRUSTEESHIP (INCLUDING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES)
- FIFTH COMMITTEE — ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY
- SIXTH COMMITTEE — LEGAL
- AD HOC POLITICAL COMMITTEE

PROCEDURAL

- CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (9 MEMBERS)
- GENERAL COMMITTEE (PRESIDENT, 7 VICE PRESIDENTS CHAIRMEN OF 6 MAIN COMMITTEES)

STANDING

- ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS (9 EXPERTS)
- COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS (10 EXPERTS)

ADVISORY BODIES

- BOARD OF AUDITORS (3 EXPERTS)
- UN HEADQUARTERS ADVISORY COMMITTEE (16 MEMBERS)
- STAFF PENSIONS COMMITTEE (9 MEMBERS)
- INVESTMENTS COMMITTEE (3 EXPERTS)
- ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL (7 EXPERTS)

SUBSIDIARY AND AD HOC BODIES

- ADDITIONAL MEASURES COMMITTEE* (14 MEMBERS)
- AGENT GENERAL AND UN KOREAN RECONSTRUCTION AGENCY
- UN ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR SOMALILAND (3 MEMBERS)
- UN CONCILIATION COMMISSION FOR PALESTINE (3 MEMBERS)
- UN COMMISSION FOR THE UNIFICATION AND REHABILITATION OF KOREA (14 MEMBERS)
- COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER CONDITIONS EXIST FOR FREE ELECTIONS IN GERMANY (5 MEMBERS)
- DIRECTOR AND ADVISORY COMMISSION FOR UN RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST (6 MEMBERS WITH POWER TO ADD 1 MORE)
- COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES (16 MEMBERS)
- AD HOC COMMITTEE ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA (5 MEMBERS)
- PEACE OBSERVATION COMMISSION (14 MEMBERS)
  - BALKAN SUB-COMMISSION (5 MEMBERS)
- INTERIM COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (ALL MEMBERS)
- COLLECTIVE MEASURES COMMITTEE (14 MEMBERS)
- INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION (15 EXPERTS)
- UN GOOD OFFICES COMMISSION ON TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (3 MEMBERS)
- SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP (19 MEMBERS)
- NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE FOR EXTRA BUDGETARY FUNDS (9 MEMBERS)
- COMMISSION TO STUDY THE RACIAL SITUATION IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (3 MEMBERS)
- AD HOC COMMITTEE ON FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DECIDING WHETHER A TERRITORY HAS OR HAS NOT ATTAINED A FULL MEASURE OF SELF-GOVT. (10 MEMBERS)
- SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON MEASURES TO LIMIT THE DURATION OF REGULAR SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (15 MEMBERS)
- COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL JURISDICTION (17 MEMBERS)
- AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PRISONERS OF WAR (3 MEMBERS)
- SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION (15 MEMBERS)
- COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION OF UNITED NATIONS (11 MEMBERS)

* ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO BE EMPLOYED TO MEET THE AGGRESSION IN KOREA

DECEMBER 1952

Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural; Rodolfo Muñoz (Argentina), Trusteeship; Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Rómulo (Philippines), Administrative and Budgetary; and H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithayakon (Thailand), Legal. Alexis Kyrou (Greece) was elected chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

The Security Council

The Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations, 5 of which—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent status. The remaining 6 are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, taking into account article 23 of the Charter to the effect that "due regard" shall be paid to the contribution of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations and to equitable geographic distribution. The nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.

The membership is as follows:

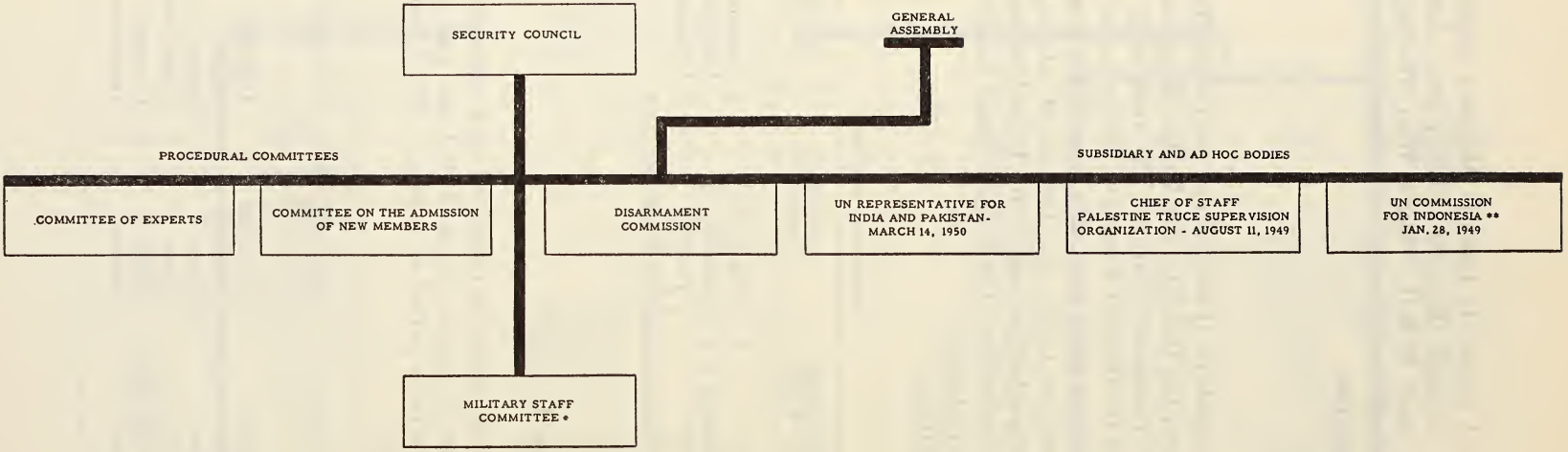
Permanent members	Nonpermanent members		
	Term expired Dec. 31, 1952	Term expires Dec. 31, 1953	Term expires Dec. 31, 1954
China	Brazil	Chile	Colombia.
France	Netherlands	Greece	Denmark.
U.S.S.R.	Turkey	Pakistan	Lebanon.
United Kingdom			
United States			

The Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 1 representative from each 18 member states, 6 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. The Council is composed of the following:

Term expired Dec. 31, 1952	Term expires Dec. 31, 1953	Term expires Dec. 31, 1954	Term expires Dec. 31, 1955
Canada	Philippines	Argentina	Australia
Czechoslovakia	Poland	Belgium	India
Iran	Sweden	China	Turkey
Mexico	U.S.S.R.	Cuba	United States
Pakistan	United Kingdom	Egypt	Venezuela
United States	Uruguay	France	Yugoslavia

STRUCTURE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

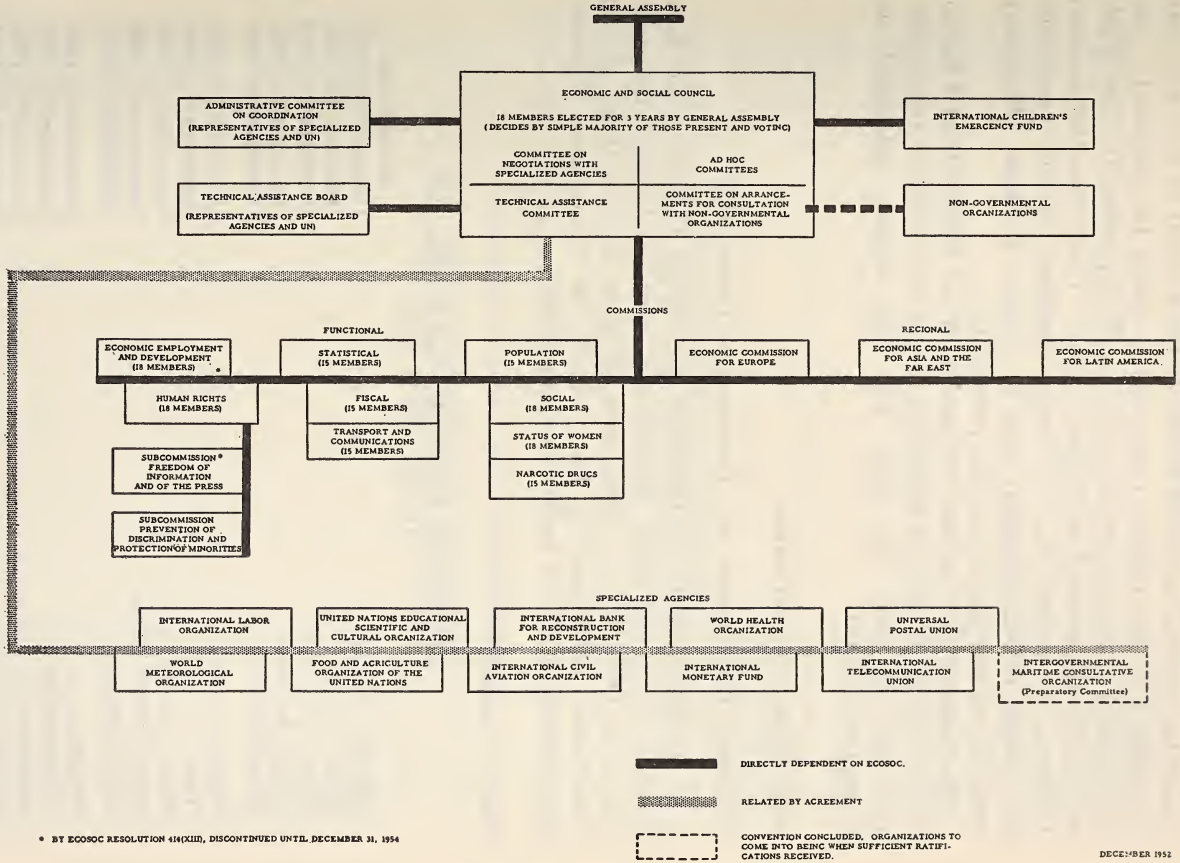


* CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

** ADJOURNED SINE DIE

DECEMBER 1952

STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL



* BY ECOSOC RESOLUTION 414(XIII), DISCONTINUED UNTIL DECEMBER 31, 1954

DECEMBER 1952

As a rule two sessions, each lasting approximately 6 weeks, are held during a year. In view of the fact that the General Assembly did not adjourn until February 5, 1952, it was decided that there should be convened only one session of the Council in 1952 and that the agenda of the regular two sessions should be combined. The 14th session was therefore convened at Headquarters in New York on May 20 and recessed on August 1, 1952. The representative from Pakistan, S. Amjad Ali, was elected president for the year 1952. Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia) and M. Gaston Eyskens (Belgium) were elected first and second vice presidents.

The resumed part of the 14th session of the Economic and Social Council was reconvened on December 16 and 19 to work out the agenda and plan of work for 1953. The 14th session adjourned on December 19, 1952.

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

Economic, Employment and Development Commission

At its 13th session the Economic and Social Council decided to discontinue the Economic, Employment and Development Commission until December 31, 1954, and to have the functions of the Commission performed by the Council, its committees, regional commissions, or *ad hoc* bodies, as appropriate.

Fiscal Commission

1951 chairman: Dr. José M. Perez Cubillas, Cuba
(Did not meet in 1952.)

	Expiration date
Canada	December 31, 1952
Cuba	December 31, 1952
Poland	December 31, 1952
U. S. S. R.	December 31, 1952
Venezuela	December 31, 1952
China	December 31, 1953
France	December 31, 1953
India	December 31, 1953
Union of South Africa	December 31, 1953
United Kingdom	December 31, 1953
Colombia	December 31, 1954
Czechoslovakia	December 31, 1954
Pakistan	December 31, 1954
Sweden	December 31, 1954
United States	December 31, 1954

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1953, through December 31, 1955:

Belgium	Chile	U. S. S. R.
Canada	Cuba	

Transport and Communications Commission

1951 chairman: Jan Oyevaar, Netherlands

(Did not meet in 1952.)

	Expiration date
Chile	December 31, 1952
China	December 31, 1952
France	December 31, 1952
Norway	December 31, 1952
Pakistan	December 31, 1952
Brazil	December 31, 1953
Byelorussian S. S. R	December 31, 1953
Egypt	December 31, 1953
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1953
United States	December 31, 1953
India	December 31, 1954
Netherlands	December 31, 1954
Paraguay	December 31, 1954
Poland	December 31, 1954
United Kingdom	December 31, 1954

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1953, through December 31, 1955:

China	France	Pakistan
Colombia	Norway	

Statistical Commission

1951 chairman: Harry Campion, United Kingdom

(December 1952 meeting postponed until February 2, 1953, because of the General Assembly session.)

	Expiration date
Argentina	December 31, 1952
Canada	December 31, 1952
Czechoslovakia	December 31, 1952
India	December 31, 1952
Ukrainian S.S.R	December 31, 1952
Denmark	December 31, 1953
Egypt	December 31, 1953
France	December 31, 1953
Panama	December 31, 1953
United Kingdom	December 31, 1953
Australia	December 31, 1954
China	December 31, 1954
Netherlands	December 31, 1954
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1954
United States	December 31, 1954

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1953, through December 31, 1955:

Canada	India	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Cuba	Iran	

Population Commission

1951 chairman: Alfred Sauvy, France

(Did not meet in 1952.)

	Expiration date
China	December 31, 1952
France	December 31, 1952
Sweden	December 31, 1952
Syria	December 31, 1952
Ukrainian S. S. R.	December 31, 1952
Australia	December 31, 1953
Belgium	December 31, 1953
Brazil	December 31, 1953
Peru	December 31, 1953
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1953
Indonesia	December 31, 1954
Mexico	December 31, 1954
U. S. S. R	December 31, 1954
United Kingdom	December 31, 1954
United States	December 31, 1954

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1953, through December 31, 1955:

China	Iran	Ukrainian S.S.R.
France	Sweden	

Social Commission

1952 chairman: M. Henri Hauck, France

	Expiration date
Australia	December 31, 1952
Bolivia	December 31, 1952
Brazil	December 31, 1952
New Zealand	December 31, 1952
United Kingdom	December 31, 1952
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1952
Belgium	December 31, 1953
Byelorussian S. S. R	December 31, 1953
Canada	December 31, 1953
China	December 31, 1953
Ecuador	December 31, 1953
Israel	December 31, 1953
France	December 31, 1954
Greece	December 31, 1954
India	December 31, 1954
Philippines	December 31, 1954
U. S. S. R	December 31, 1954
United States	December 31, 1954

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1953, through December 31, 1955:

Argentina	Czechoslovakia	Norway
Brazil	Iraq	United Kingdom

Commission on Narcotic Drugs[1]

1952 chairman: O. Rabasa, Mexico

Canada	Iran	Turkey
China	Mexico	U.S.S.R.
Egypt	Netherlands	United Kingdom
France	Peru	United States
India	Poland	Yugoslavia

Commission on Human Rights

1952 chairman: Charles Malik, Lebanon
(Reelected)

	Expiration date
Egypt	December 31, 1952
France	December 31, 1952
Greece	December 31, 1952
India	December 31, 1952
Ukrainian S. S. R	December 31, 1952
U. S. S. R	December 31, 1952
Australia	December 31, 1953
Chile	December 31, 1953
Pakistan	December 31, 1953
Sweden	December 31, 1953
United States	December 31, 1953
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1953
Belgium	December 31, 1954
China	December 31, 1954
Lebanon	December 31, 1954
Poland	December 31, 1954
United Kingdom	December 31, 1954
Uruguay	December 31, 1954

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1953, through December 31, 1955:

Egypt	India	Ukrainian S.S.R.
France	Philippines	U.S.S.R.

[1] Canada, China, France, India, Peru, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia were reelected in August 1949 by the Economic and Social Council for an indefinite period "until such time as they might be replaced by decision of the Council." The other five states were elected for a period of 3 years. At the 14th session of the Council it was decided to have the election of the indefinite members of the Narcotics Commission at the 16th session, July 1953.

Commission on the Status of Women

1952 chairman: Mme. Marie-Hélène Lefaucheux, France
(Reelected)

	Expiration date
Brazil	December 31, 1952
Lebanon	December 31, 1952
Mexico	December 31, 1952
U. S. S. R	December 31, 1952
United Kingdom	December 31, 1952
United States	December 31, 1952
Cuba	December 31, 1953
Dominican Republic	December 31, 1953
France	December 31, 1953
Netherlands	December 31, 1953
New Zealand	December 31, 1953
Poland	December 31, 1953
Burma	December 31, 1954
Byelorussian S. S. R	December 31, 1954
Chile	December 31, 1954
China	December 31, 1954
Iran	December 31, 1954
Pakistan	December 31, 1954

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1953, through December 31, 1955:

Haiti	U.S.S.R.	United States
Lebanon	United Kingdom	Venezuela

REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

Economic Commission for Europe

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

1952 chairman: Mrs. Karin Kock, Sweden
(Reelected)

Belgium	Iceland	Turkey
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Luxembourg	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Netherlands	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Norway	United Kingdom
France	Poland	United States
Greece	Sweden	Yugoslavia

Consultative members are:

Albania	Hungary	Portugal
Austria	Ireland	Rumania
Bulgaria	Italy	Switzerland
Finland		

The Commission held its seventh session at Geneva March 3, 1952, to March 18, 1952.

Economic Commission for Latin America

Headquarters: Santiago, Chile

1952 chairman of the Committee of the Whole: Alberto Baltra Cortés, Chile

Argentina	Ecuador	Nicaragua
Bolivia	El Salvador	Panama
Brazil	France	Paraguay
Chile	Guatemala	Peru
Colombia	Haiti	United Kingdom
Costa Rica	Honduras	United States
Cuba	Mexico	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Venezuela

The Commission did not meet in 1952, but the Committee of the Whole met in Santiago, Chile, from February 11 to 14, 1952.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand

1952 chairman: U Kyaw Myint, Burma

Australia	Indonesia	Thailand
Burma	Netherlands	U.S.S.R.
China	New Zealand	United Kingdom
France	Pakistan	United States
India	Philippines	

Associate members are:

Cambodia	Laos	Nepal
Ceylon	Malaya and British Borneo	Republic of Korea
Hong Kong		Viet-Nam
Japan		

The Commission held its eighth session at Rangoon, Burma, January 29, 1952, to February 8, 1952.

UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND

Assembly Resolution 417 (V) constituted the Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) as from January 1, 1951, to consist of the governments of the 18 states represented on the Social Commission and the governments of 8 states, not necessarily members of the United Nations, to be designated by the Economic and Social Council for appropriate terms, with due regard to geographical distribution and to the representation of the major contributing and recipient countries.

There were 2 meetings of the 26-government Executive Board of UNICEF held in 1952. The meetings of the Board from April 22 to 24, inclusive, and October 6, 7, and 10, 1952, were held at Headquarters in New York.

The membership is as follows:

1952 chairman: Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Canada

	Expiration date
Argentina	December 31, 1955
Australia	December 31, 1955
Belgium	December 31, 1953
Brazil	December 31, 1955
Byelorussian S. S. R	December 31, 1953
Canada	December 31, 1953
China	December 31, 1953
Czechoslovakia	December 31, 1955
Ecuador	December 31, 1953
France	December 31, 1954
Greece	December 31, 1954
India	December 31, 1954
Iraq	December 31, 1955
Israel	December 31, 1953
Italy	December 31, 1953
Norway	December 31, 1955
Pakistan	December 31, 1955
Peru	December 31, 1954
Philippines	December 31, 1954
Switzerland	December 31, 1953
Thailand	December 31, 1954
U. S. S. R.	December 31, 1954
United Kingdom	December 31, 1955
United States	December 31, 1954
Uruguay	December 31, 1953
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1955

UNITED NATIONS KOREAN RECONSTRUCTION AGENCY

The United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency was established by a resolution of the General Assembly on December 1, 1950. Its purpose is to assist the Korean people to relieve the suffering and repair the devastation caused by aggression and to lay the necessary economic foundations for the political unification and independence of the country. An initial target budget of $250 million has been approved. An Advisory Committee of five states—the United Kingdom, Canada, Uruguay, India, and the United States—was appointed by the General Assembly to advise the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency with regard to major financial, procurement, distribution, and other problems pertaining to planning and operations.

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council consists of all United Nations members administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected United Nations members not administering trust territories as are required to insure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between nations that administer trust territories and those that do not. There are 12 members of the Council. The elected members serve for a term of 3 years. At the seventh session of the General Assembly El Salvador, which had served only a partial term, was reelected to succeed itself for a full term, and Syria was elected to replace Iraq.

Members Administering Trust Territories

Australia	France	United Kingdom
Belgium	New Zealand	United States

Permanent Members of Security Council Not Administering Trust Territories

China	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Members Elected for 3-Year Terms by the General Assembly

Dominican Republic (1953)	Syria (1955)
El Salvador (1955)	Thailand (1953)

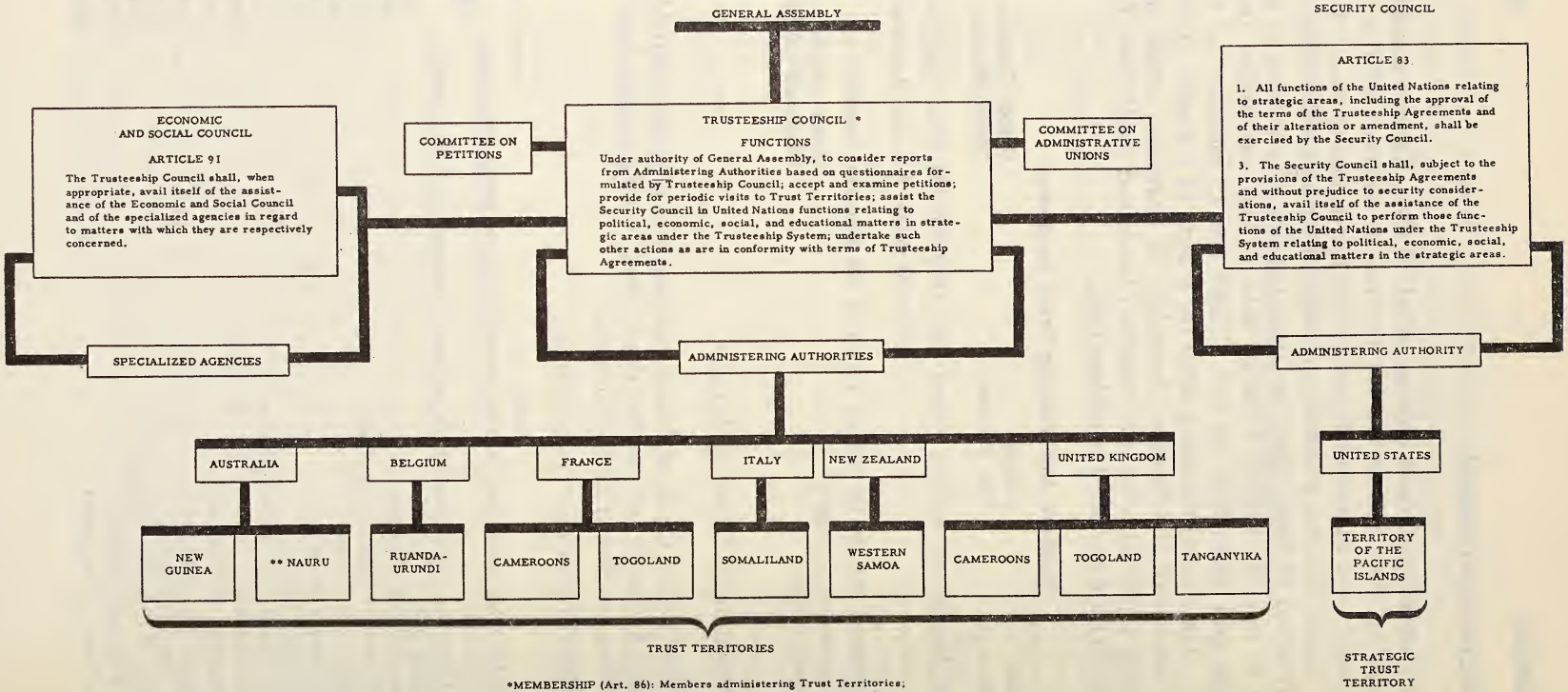
The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 members elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. The members are elected for 9-year terms.

The members of the Court are as follows:

Judges	Term expires
Sir Arnold McNair, president (British; elected for 3-year period beginning May 6, 1952)	1955
José G. Guerrero, vice president (Salvadoran; reelected for 3-year period beginning May 6, 1952)	1955
Alejandro Alvarez (Chilean)	1955
Abdel H. Badawi Pasha (Egyptian)	1958
Jules Basdevant (French)	1955
L. F. Carneiro (Brazilian)	1955
S. A. Golunsky (Soviet)	1961
Green H. Hackworth (United States)	1961
Hsu Mo (Chinese)	1958
Helge Klaestad (Norwegian)	1961
Sir Benegal Rau (Indian)	1961
John E. Read (Canadian)	1958
E. C. Armand Ugón (Uruguayan)	1961
Bohdan Winiarski (Polish)	1958
Milovan Zoričič (Yugoslav)	1958

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM



*MEMBERSHIP (Art. 86): Members administering Trust Territories; permanent members of the Security Council not administering Trust Territories; and enough other Members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms to ensure that there is an equal number of Members which administer Trust Territories and those which do not.

** Administered by Australia, on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom as joint Administering Authorities.

DECEMBER 1952

The Secretariat of the United Nations

The Secretariat under article 7 of the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations. It is headed by the Secretary-General, who is the chief administrative officer of the organization. During the fifth regular session of the General Assembly the term of office of Secretary-General Trygve Lie (Norwegian) was extended for a period of 3 years, but in November 1952 he announced his intention to resign. The Secretary-General and his staff provide secretariat services for the other principal organs, except the International Court of Justice, which has its own administrative body at The Hague known as the Registry. Nationals of about 64 countries, 56 of them members of the United Nations, are employed in the Secretariat. There were, as of August 31, 1952, 4,504 employees on the staff. The functions of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are described in general terms in chapter XV of the Charter.

Among the important tasks of the Secretariat is that of servicing meetings of the other principal organs (except the International Court of Justice) and of their subsidiary bodies. This includes provision of physical arrangements, translating, interpreting, preparation of minutes and documentation, publication of official records, and advising chairmen on precedents and parliamentary procedure.

The Secretariat serves as executive agent for the other organs; for example, at the request of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General appointed the members of the *Ad Hoc* Commission on Prisoners of War pursuant to Assembly resolution 427(V). Again, under Assembly resolution 503(VI), the Secretary-General is requested to appoint the members of the panel of military experts provided for in the uniting-for-peace resolution. The Secretariat provides services and expert staff for the field missions, such as those in Korea and India-Pakistan, and the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories. The Secretariat also prepares studies and background material to facilitate the work of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies.

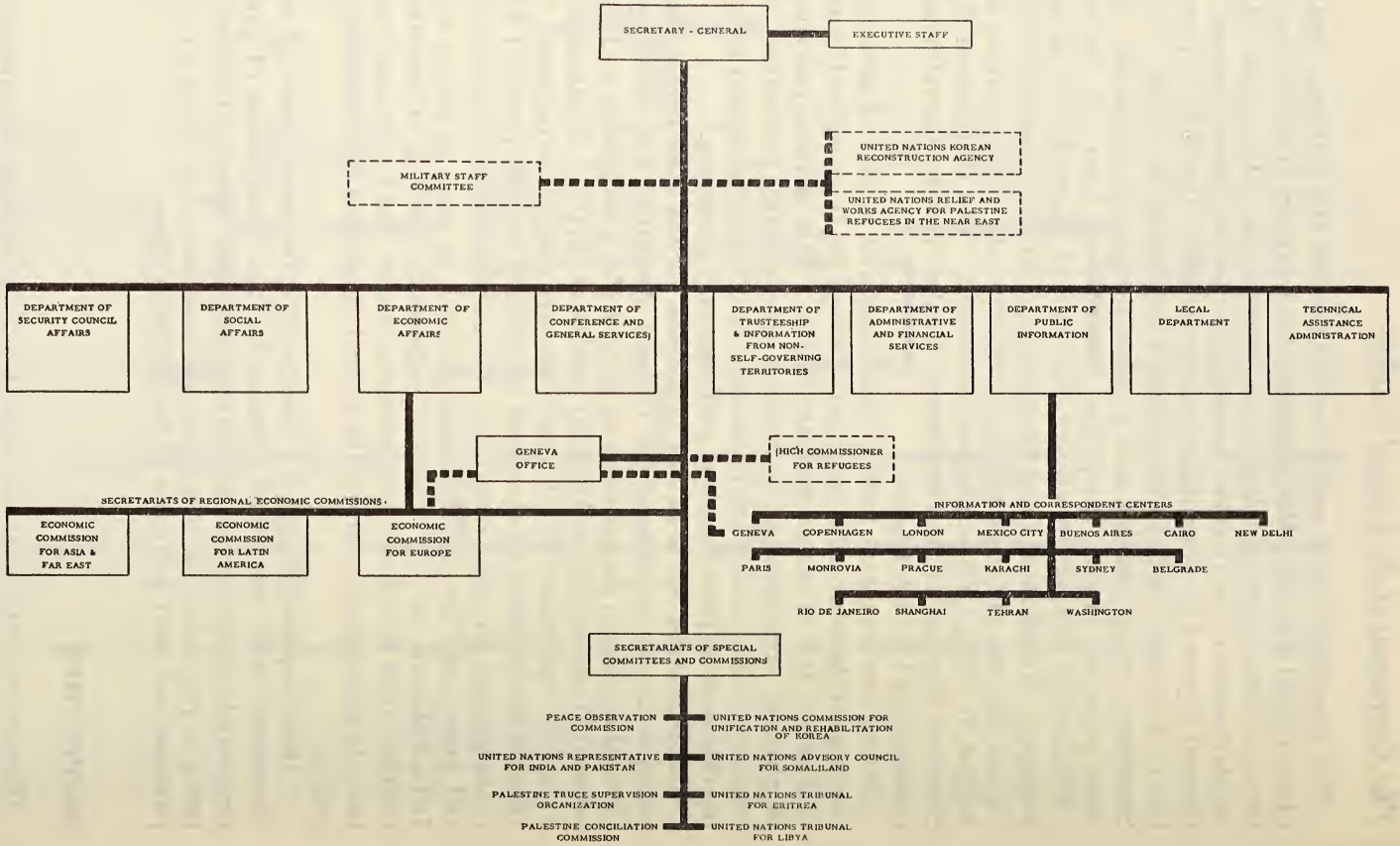
A third responsibility of the Secretariat is the development of arrangements with specialized agencies for the coordination of programs and administrative and financial practices. Finally, the Secretariat is responsible for supplying information to the world on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.

ORGANIZATION

The Secretary-General has under his direction eight departments, in addition to his own executive office, an office to direct the technical

251944—53——18

THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT



assistance program, and numerous centers of operation in the field. The main offices at headquarters and their top officials are as follows:

Executive Office of the Secretary-General

Andrew Cordier (U.S.) Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General
W. Martin Hill (British), Director of Coordination for Specialized Agencies and Economic and Social Matters

Department of Security Council Affairs

Konstantin Zinchenko (Soviet), Assistant Secretary-General
D. Protitch (Yugoslav), Principal Director

Department of Economic Affairs

David Owen (British), Assistant Secretary-General (loaned as Executive Secretary, Technical Assistance Board)
Roy Blough (U.S.), Principal Director

Department of Social Affairs

Guillaume Georges-Picot (French), Assistant Secretary-General (in charge of both Departments of Economics and of Social Affairs)
Hussein Mohamed Asfahany (Egyptian), Principal Director

Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

Victor Hoo (Chinese), Assistant Secretary-General
Ralph J. Bunche (U.S.), Principal Director
Wilfred Benson (British), Director in Charge of the Division of Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

Department of Public Information

Benjamin Cohen (Chilean), Assistant Secretary-General
Tor Gjesdal (Norwegian), Principal Director

Legal Department

C. A. Stavropoulos (Greek), Principal Director in charge of Department

Conference and General Services Department

Shamaldharee Lall (Indian), Assistant Secretary-General
David Vaughan (U.S.), Principal Director

Department of Administrative and Financial Services

Byron Price (U.S.), Assistant Secretary-General
Hans Andersen (Danish), Principal Director of Finance
Georges Palthey (French), Principal Director of Personnel

Technical Assistance Administration

Hugh L. Keenleyside (Canadian), Director General
G. Martinez-Cabanas (Mexican), Deputy Director General

In addition to the New York headquarters there is a European headquarters at Geneva, directed by Adriannus Pelt (Dutch). This is also the headquarters for the Economic Commission for Europe, headed by Gunnar Myrdal (Swedish) and the offices of the High Commissioner for Refugees, of which G. van Heuven Goedhart (Dutch) is the chief. The Secretary-General has also set up small field offices to service the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), and the 17 information centers required by the Department of Public Information to carry out its responsibility for insuring that peoples in all parts of the world receive full information about the United Nations.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES

The General Assembly exercises control over and gives direction to the administrative processes and financial administration of the Secretariat through its Administrative and Budgetary Committee. In addition it has created numerous expert bodies, the members of which serve on a continuing basis, to assist the Assembly and the Secretary-General in properly discharging their administrative and financial responsibilities. These include the following:

The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, composed of nine members, examines the budgets of the United Nations and specialized agencies and assists the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. The nine members are Thanassis Aghnides (Greek), André Ganem (French), William O. Hall (U. S.), R. Asha (Syrian), I. V. Chechetkin (Soviet), Carlos Blanco (Cuban), Arthur H. Clough (British), Braj Kumar Nehru (Indian), and Eduardo Carrizosa (Colombian).

The Committee on Contributions consists of 10 members who advise the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among members. The members are René Charron (French), S. M. Burke (Pakistani), Arthur Samuel Lall (Indian), Adolpho Nass (Venezuelan), Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovak), Stuart Arthur Rice (U. S.), Josue Saenz (Mexican), Georgi F. Saksin (Soviet), Arthur H. Clough (British), and M. Z. N. Witteveen (Dutch).

The Administrative Tribunal, composed of seven members, hears and passes judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. The seven members, only three of whom sit in a particular case, are Mme. Paul Bastid (French), Lord Crook (British), Djalal Abdoh (Iranian), Vladimir Outrata

(Czechoslovak), Omar Loutfi (Egyptian), Bror Arvid Sture Petren (Swedish), and Homero Viteri-Lafronte (Ecuadoran).

The Board of Auditors audits the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such specialized agencies as may request its services. It is composed of three members serving for 3 years, as follows: Auditor-General of Canada, Auditor-General of Colombia, and Auditor-General of Denmark.

The Investments Committee advises the Secretary-General concerning the investment of the assets of the Pension Fund and such other funds on the investment of which the Secretary-General may seek advice. It is composed of Ivar Rooth (Swedish), Leslie R. Rounds (U. S.), and Jacques Rueff (French).

The Staff Pension Committee represents the United Nations on the Joint Staff Pension Board and administers, in respect of United Nations employees, the powers delegated by the Board relating to admission of participants and granting of benefits. It is composed of three members elected by the General Assembly, three members appointed by the Secretary-General, and three elected by the participants. The members elected by the General Assembly are R. T. Cristobal (Filipino), Keith G. Brennan (Australian), and Francisco A. Forteza (Uruguayan). The alternates elected by the General Assembly are Arthur H. Clough (British), Warren B. Irons (U. S.), Fazlollah Nouredin Kia (Iranian).

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

International Labor Organization

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: David A. Morse, United States

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg

Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

Food and Agriculture Organization

Headquarters: Rome, Italy

Director General: Norris E. Dodd, United States

Deputy Director General: Sir Herbert Broadley, O. B. E., United Kingdom

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China [1]
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Luxembourg
Mexico
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Saudi Arabia
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

[1] Withdrawal effective July 1952.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

President: Eugene R. Black, United States

Vice President: Robert L. Garner, United States

The membership is the same as the member states of the International Monetary Fund, below, to which a state is required to belong before it can join the Bank.

International Monetary Fund

Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

Chairman of the Executive Board and Managing Director: Ivar Rooth, Sweden

Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Greece
Guatemala
Honduras
Iceland
India
Iran
Iraq
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Mexico
Netherlands
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Sweden
Syria
Thailand
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

International Civil Aviation Organization

Headquarters: Montreal, Canada

Secretary General: Carl Ljungberg, Sweden

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
Colombia
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Venezuela

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Headquarters: Paris, France

Director General: Jaime Torres Bodet, Mexico (Resignation effective December 1, 1952)

Acting Director General: Dr. John W. Taylor, United States

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia [1]
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
France
Federal Republic of Germany
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary [1]
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Monaco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Peru
Philippines
Poland [1]
Saudi Arabia
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

[1] Notified withdrawal from the organization, but withdrawals not yet accepted.

World Health Organization

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: Dr. Brock Chisholm, Canada

Afghanistan
Albania [2]
Argentina [1]
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia [1]
Brazil [1]
Bulgaria [2]
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.[2]
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile [1]
China [2]
Costa Rica [1]
Cuba [1]
Czechoslovakia [2]
Denmark
Dominican Republic [1]
Ecuador [1]
Egypt
El Salvador [1]
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Guatemala [1]
Haiti [1]
Honduras [1]
Hungary [2]

See footnotes on following page.

Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico [1]
Monaco
Morocco [3]
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua [1]
Norway
Pakistan
Panama [1]
Paraguay [1]
Peru [1]
Philippines
Poland [2]
Portugal
Rumania [2]
Saudi Arabia
Southern Rhodesia [3]
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia [2]
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.[2]
Union of South Africa
U.S.S.R.[2]
United Kingdom
United States [1]
Uruguay [1]
Venezuela [1]
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

[1] Members of Pan American Sanitary Organization.
[2] States no longer considering themselves members.
[3] Associate members.

Universal Postal Union

Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland

Secretary General: Fritz Hess, Switzerland

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgian Congo
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Morocco (Excluding Spanish Zone)
Morocco (Spanish Zone)
French Overseas Territories
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Netherlands
Curaçao and Surinam
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese Territories of West Africa
Portuguese Territories of East Africa, Asia, and Oceania
Rumania
San Marino
Saudi Arabia

Spain
Spanish Colonies
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
Union of South Africa
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
The whole of the British overseas territories, including the colonies, protectorates, and territories under trusteeship
United States of America
Territories of the United States of America, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Uruguay
Vatican City
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yemen
Yugoslavia

International Telecommunication Union

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Secretary General: Leon Mulatier, France

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgian Congo and Territory of Ruanda-Urundi
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
French Protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia
Federal Republic of Germany
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Luxembourg
Mexico
Monaco
Netherlands, Surinam, Netherlands Antilles, New Guinea
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese territories
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Southern Rhodesia
Spain
Spanish zone of Morocco and the totality of Spanish possessions
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Territories of France
Territories of United Kingdom
Territories of United States
Thailand
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
Union of South Africa and Territory of South-West Africa
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
United States
Uruguay
Vatican City
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yemen
Yugoslavia

World Meteorological Organization

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Chief of Secretariat: G. Swoboda, Switzerland

Argentina
Australia
Belgian Congo
Belgium
Bermuda
Brazil
British Central African Territories
British East African Territories
British Malaya/Borneo Territories
British West African Territories
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Canada
Ceylon
China
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
Finland
France
French Cameroons
French Equatorial Africa
French Oceania
French Somaliland
French Togoland
French West Africa
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Hong Kong
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indochina
Indonesia
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Madagascar
Mexico
Morocco, French Protectorate
Netherlands
Netherlands Antilles
Netherlands New Guinea
New Caledonia
New Zealand
Norway
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese East Africa
Portuguese West Africa
Rumania
Spain
Surinam
Syria
Sweden
Switzerland
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
Union of South Africa
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
United States of America
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization: Preparatory Committee (Formative)[1]

Headquarters: Transport and Communications Division
United Nations Secretariat, New York, N. Y.

The Preparatory Committee is made up of:

Argentina
Australia
Belgium
Canada
France
Greece
India
Netherlands
Norway
Sweden
United Kingdom
United States

[1] IMCO will come into being when 21 states have ratified the IMCO convention. Eleven ratifications have been received to date at United Nations headquarters from Australia, Belgium, Burma, Canada, France, Greece, Ireland, Israel, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

APPENDIX IV

United States Representation in the United Nations System

MISSIONS

Mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State, in United Nations bodies at the headquarters of the United Nations. It also serves as the channel of communication between the United States Government and the United Nations organs, agencies, and commissions at the headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York. It is a base of operations for the United States delegation to the General Assembly and to other United Nations organs and agencies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the United States mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly in particular.
2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the Eighty-first Congress.
3. Executive Order 10108, which superseded Executive Order 9844.
4. Location of the headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilites of "host government."

5. The fact that the United States, in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The chief of the mission is the United States representative to the United Nations, who, by statute, is the United States representative in the Security Council. He is assisted by a deputy representative of the United States to the United Nations, who, by statute, is deputy United States representative in the Security Council. There is also a second deputy representative in the Security Council. Other principal officers of the mission are the United States representatives on the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council.

During 1952 the chief of the mission served, with the assistance of deputies, as United States representative in the following committees and commissions of the General Assembly: The Interim Committee, the Collective Measures Committee, the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, and the Committee on Additional Measures. The Disarmament Commission, established under a General Assembly resolution of January 11, 1952, superseded the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. The United States representative and a deputy representative also served on this Commission.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of the United States participation in the United Nations is necessarily the Department of State. The mission, however, has a staff consisting of a small number of advisers and a secretariat under a secretary-general and a deputy secretary-general. The advisers assist the United States representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of United States policy objectives in the light of the political and parliamentary situations in United Nations organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the United Nations Secretariat. The secretariat of the mission assists the United States representative in (1) the coordination of the above activities; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, and communications services; (3) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the headquarters agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 291, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (4) the administration and management of the United States mission.

Other United States Missions

In addition to the United States Mission to the United Nations, the United States during 1952 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain United Nations bodies that do not have headquarters in the United States.

There was a United States representative for International Organizational Affairs and a permanent resident delegation at Geneva. The delegation was charged with maintaining liaison for the United States with the European Regional Office of the United Nations, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the World Meteorological Organization, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and with various other international bodies in Europe.

A special United States mission, the Office of the United States Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, was maintained in Montreal. Liaison was also maintained with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) through a counselor on UNESCO Affairs stationed at the American Embassy in Paris.

Other special missions were maintained to make possible effective participation in the work of certain field missions and specialized agencies of the United Nations. United States representatives served, for example, with the Advisory Commission of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and the Advisory Committee to the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS, ITS ORGANS, SUBSIDIARY BODIES, AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES DURING 1952

United States representative and chief of United States mission to the United Nations
Warren R. Austin
Deputy United States representative
Ernest A. Gross

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Seventh Regular Session, First Part, New York, October 14, 1952

Representatives
Dean G. Acheson, Secretary of State, Chairman of Delegation
Warren R. Austin
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Senator Theodore F. Green
Senator Alexander Wiley
Ernest A. Gross [1]

Alternate representatives
Philip C. Jessup
Benjamin V. Cohen
Charles A. Sprague
Mrs. Edith S. Sampson
Isador Lubin [2]

Interim Committee of the General Assembly

Representative
Warren R. Austin
Deputy representatives
James N. Hyde
William O. Hall

Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories

Representative
Benjamin Gerig

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Representative
Warren R. Austin
Deputy representatives
Ernest A. Gross
John C. Ross

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[1] Mr. Gross served as a representative in the absence of the Secretary of State.

[2] Mr. Lubin served as an alternate representative in the absence of the Secretary of State.

DISARMAMENT COMMISSION (superseded Atomic Energy Commission and Commission for Conventional Armaments January 11, 1952)

Representative
Warren R. Austin
Deputy representative
Benjamin V. Cohen

MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE

Representatives
Army: Lt. Gen. W. D. Crittenberger, U.S.A.
Navy: Vice Adm. Oscar C. Badger, U.S.N. (resigned May 13, 1952)
Vice Adm. Arthur D. Struble, U.S.N. (appointed May 14, 1952)
Air Force: Lt. Gen. H. R. Harmon, U.S.A.F.
Deputy representatives
Army: Col. C. P. Townsley, U.S.A.
Navy: Capt. W. A. Riley, U.S.N.
Air Force: Col. L. H. Rodieck, U.S.A.F.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Representative
Isador Lubin
Deputy representatives
Walter M. Kotschnig
Leroy D. Stinebower (resigned March 14, 1952)

Commissions of the Economic and Social Council and United States Representatives

Social: Arthur J. Altmeyer
Narcotics: Harry J. Anslinger
Transport and Communications (no meetings in 1952): George P. Baker
Fiscal (no meetings in 1952): Edward F. Bartelt
Population (no meetings in 1952): vacant
Status of Women: Mrs. Olive Remington Goldman
Economic, Employment and Development Commission (discontinued until December 31, 1954): Leroy D. Stinebower (resigned March 14, 1952)
Statistical: Stuart A. Rice
Human Rights: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Regional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

United States representative (eighth session)
Merrill C. Gay
Alternate United States representative (eighth session)
Walter M. Kotschnig

Economic Commission for Europe

United States representative (seventh session)
William H. Draper
Alternate representatives (seventh session)
Paul R. Porter
Robert E. Asher

Economic Commission for Latin America (no meeting in 1952)

United States representative
Claude G. Bowers

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

United States representative
Francis B. Sayre (resigned June 1, 1952)
Deputy representative
Benjamin Gerig

UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND

United States representatives, Executive Board
Katharine F. Lenroot (resigned September 24, 1952)
Martha M. Eliot (appointed September 25, 1952)
Alternate representative
Frances K. Kernohan

SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (terminated February 5, 1952)

United States representative
Jefferson Patterson

United Nations Collective Measures Committee

United States representative
Warren R. Austin
Deputy representative
Harding F. Bancroft

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine

United States representative
Ely E. Palmer (resigned July 31, 1952)
Warren R. Austin (designated August 7, 1952)
Deputy representatives
John C. Ross (appointed August 7, 1952)
James W. Barco, acting

United Nations Peace Observation Commission

United States representative
Ernest A. Gross

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

United States members, Advisory Commission
Robert B. Macatee, acting (resigned February 20, 1952)
Edwin A. Locke, Jr., (appointed February 21, 1952)

Advisory Committee to the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency

United States representative
Isador Lubin
Deputy representative
Graham R. Hall

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SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

United States members, FAO Council
Clarence J. McCormick (November 1952 meeting)
Knox T. Hutchinson (June 1952 meeting)
Alternate United States members
John J. Haggerty (November 1952 meeting)
Fred J. Rossiter (June 1952 meeting)
Associate United States member
John W. Evans

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

United States Governor, Board of Governors
John W. Snyder
Alternate United States Governor
James E. Webb (resigned March 12, 1952)
David Bruce (appointed March 28, 1952)
United States Executive Director
William McC. Martin, Jr.
Alternate United States Executive Director
John S. Hooker

International Civil Aviation Organization

United States representative on the Council of ICAO
Rear Adm. Paul A. Smith, U.S.N.
Alternate United States representatives on the Council of ICAO
Norman P. Seagrave (resigned April 10, 1952)
Ernest A. Lister (appointed June 6, 1952)
Claude H. Smith (resigned September 10, 1952)
P. DeForrest McKeel (appointed September 11, 1952)
Alternate United States representative on the Air Navigation Commission
Claude H. Smith (appointed December 6, 1952)
Alternate United States representative on the Air Transport Committee
William D. Peck (appointed November 10, 1952)

International Labor Organization

Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body of the International Labor Office
Philip M. Kaiser
Arnold Zempel, substitute

International Monetary Fund

United States Governor, Board of Governors
John W. Snyder
Alternate United States Governor
James E. Webb (resigned March 12, 1952)
David Bruce (appointed March 28, 1952)
United States Executive Director
Frank A. Southard, Jr.
Alternate United States Executive Director
John S. Hooker

International Telecommunication Union

United States representative, Administrative Council
Francis Colt de Wolf
Alternate United States representative, Administrative Council
Harvey B. Otterman

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

American member in personal capacity on Executive Board (elected by organization itself)
Luther H. Evans

Universal Postal Union

United States member, Executive Liaison Committee
John M. Redding
Alternate United States member, Executive Liaison Committee
John J. Gillen

World Health Organization

United States member, Executive Board (U. S. membership expired May 1952)
Dr. H. van Zile Hyde

World Meteorological Organization

United States member, Executive Committee
Francis W. Reichelderfer

APPENDIX V

Documentary Publications on The United Nations

United Nations publications may be found in many libraries throughout the country. The resolutions and proceedings of the various United Nations organs, including the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, and Trusteeship Council, appear in the *Official Records* series. Documents and reports presented to the above-mentioned organs, considered during the meetings, or drawn up in the course of the discussions are generally printed as *annexes* or *supplements* to the *Official Records*. *Official Records* and published United Nations documents, including final reports and special studies, may be purchased from the United Nations Sales Agent, International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y., and from Sub-Agents of the United Nations (for list see below). The United Nations also publishes annually the *Yearbook of the United Nations*. A catalog describing the publications for sale is supplied by the United Nations Sales Agent upon request. In addition to the published documents, mimeographed documents of the organs of the United Nations may be purchased at an annual rate from the United Nations Sales and Circulation Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, N. Y. Information concerning the rates of the various series of mimeographed documents will be given upon request.

Depository libraries have been established throughout the world by the United Nations Library in order to make available to the public reference collections of documents and publications. These depository libraries (for list see below) are situated in principal centers of research throughout the country, with due regard to adequate geographic distribution. In addition the United Nations exchanges

documents on a reciprocal basis with a number of foundations and research organizations. United Nations documents are available in the Library of Congress and in the libraries of a number of government agencies concerned with questions of international relations.

The Department of State periodically issues reports on the United Nations, reports of the United States delegations to United Nations meetings, and separate pamphlets and documents dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. Examples of such publications are *International Organizations in Which the United States Participates, 1949* (Department of State publication 3655), and *Participation of the United States Government in International Conferences*, July 1, 1951–June 30, 1952 (Department of State publication 4900). Information and documents of current interest are contained in the *Department of State Bulletin*, a weekly publication. Lists of all relevant departmental publications may be obtained from the Division of Publications, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

UNITED NATIONS SUB-AGENTS FOR SALE OF UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

American Association for the United Nations
Los Angeles Chapter
Ambassador Hotel, Suite 67–68
Los Angeles 5, Calif.

World Affairs Council of Northern California
421 Powell Street
San Francisco 2, Calif.

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
The Pamphlet Shop
International Relations Center
116 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 3, Ill.

Minnesota United Nations Association
World Affairs Center
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 14, Minn.

United Council on World Affairs
355–A Boylston Street
Boston 16, Mass.

St. Louis Council on World Affairs, Inc.
Chamber of Commerce Building
511 Locust Street
St. Louis 1, Mo.

Council on World Affairs
922 Society for Savings Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia
Third Floor Gallery
The John Wanamaker Store
13th and Market Streets
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dallas Council on World Affairs
2419 Maple Avenue
Dallas 4, Tex.

UNITED NATIONS DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES

University of California
General Library
Berkeley, Calif.

Los Angeles Public Library
Los Angeles, Calif.

University of California at Los Angeles
Los Angeles, Calif.

Von Kliensmid Library of World Affairs
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, Calif.

State Department of Public Health
San Francisco, Calif.

College of Aeronautics
Hancock Field
Santa Maria, Calif.

Stanford University
Stanford University, Calif.

Denver Public Library
Denver, Colo.

Yale Medical Library
Yale University School of Medicine
New Haven, Conn.

Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

Army Medical Library
Washington, D. C.

Brookings Institution
Washington 6, D. C.

Columbus Memorial Library
Pan American Union
Washington, D. C.

International Monetary Fund
Washington, D. C.

Library of Congress
Washington, D. C.

Pan American Sanitary Bureau
WHO Regional Offices for the Americas
Washington, D. C.

Library of International Relations
Chicago, Ill.

University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Northwestern University
Evanston, Ill.

University of Illinois
Urbana, Ill.

Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, La.

Louisiana State University
New Orleans, La.

Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Md.

National Institute of Health
U. S. Public Health Service
Bethesda, Md.

Department of Preventive Medicine
Harvard University Medical School
Boston, Mass.

Department of Public Health
Boston, Mass.

World Peace Foundation
Boston, Mass.

Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Mich.

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

St. Louis Public Library
St. Louis, Mo.

Washington University
St. Louis, Mo.

Princeton University
Princeton, N. J.

Office of Public Health Education
State Department of Health
Albany, N. Y.

Cornell University
Ithaca, N. Y.

Columbia University Law Library
New York, N. Y.

Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
New York, N. Y.

Institute of Aeronautical Sciences
New York, N. Y.

New York Academy of Medicine
New York, N. Y.

New York Public Library
New York, N. Y.

New York University
New York, N. Y.

University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Cleveland Public Library
Cleveland, Ohio

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.

Brown University
Providence, R. I.

Joint University Libraries
Nashville, Tenn.

University of Texas
Austin, Tex.

University of Texas
Galveston, Tex.

University of Washington
Seattle, Wash.

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